



ROBERT Lord CLIVE.

LETTER
TO THE
PROPRIETORS
OF THE
EAST INDIA STOCK,
FROM
LORD CLIVE.

LONDON, Printed 1764
Reprinted for J. NOURSE, Bookseller to H^Y MAJESTY.
MDCCLXXIII.

VEDA AND VEDIC

A D D R E S S
T O T H E
P R O P R I E T O R S
O F T H E
E A S T I N D I A S T O C K .

THE last Election of the India Directors drew many unjust attacks on my character; and it is probable, I may be censured by some, for having suffered such reports as were spread against me during the contest to have remained so long unanswered; but knowing, that even the authors of them could not themselves believe them; and conscious to myself, that every part of my conduct, in the great share I had in the management of the Company's affairs, would bear the most rigid scrutiny, and the more known be the more approved; I held
them

them in too much contempt to merit any answer. But as I find the unjust attack on my character has been followed by an attack on my fortune, and insinuations thrown out to justify these proceedings, very injurious to my honour, I reluctantly submit to vindicate myself, and must rely upon the candour of the Proprietors, not to impute it to ostentatious vanity, if in speaking of myself I do aver, that I founded all my actions in their service on honourable motives.

To state this clearly, I am obliged to go back to that period when commerce was the Company's sole object. The first principle on which the Company's settlements were established, was intirely commercial. The Mogul government had, during the long and wise administration of Aurengzebe, taken such deep root, that the many nations which formed the empire of Indostan were subjugated to the Mogul in various forms; some of them tributary and hereditary, and others governed by Nabobs, or Viceroys, under the immediate appointment of the Emperors.

Such was the state of the empire when the English settled in India, and, in the reign of Furruckseer, they obtained phirmunds, or royal grants, for establishing themselves in Bengal, Madrafs, and Surat, with privilege of trading duty free, and a grant of a certain district of land to settle upon, and liberty to fortify and govern themselves by their own laws. But as the English saw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a just idea of commerce, and a government at that time well administered, they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppression.

The governors of the distant provinces discovering the weakness to which the power of the Emperor was reduced by the invasion of Nadir Shah, were no longer restrained by fear, each assumed and exercised sovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family. Scarce any more of the annual sums, before paid by them to the Mogul, were sent to court, and, to maintain themselves in the sovereignty, they levied forces far beyond what ordinary revenues

would maintain. From hence, oppressions became necessary, and, in their turn, the Europeans were oppressed, not only in their trade, but large sums extorted from them by violence. Mons. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, was the first who took the alarm, and was the first who discovered the superiority of European discipline, and from hence was led into the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty in India.

It is probable, he at first extended his views no farther than a district round Pondicherry, but when once engaged in the politics of the country, his successes so far surpassed his expectation, and opened such a scene of power to him, that he disdained the narrow limits he might at first prescribe to himself; and no doubt but they were enlarged, not only to the conquest of the Carnatic, but to the expropriation of all other European nations, and even to the reduction of the whole Mogul empire, and to make it a dependant state on the crown of France.

The English beheld his progress with astonishment, but were not roused to action, till they

they found themselves on the point of being swallowed up by the French power. Forced to it, they with reluctance, in 1750, undertook the support of Mahomed Ally against Chunda Sahib, under whose name the French carried on their ambitious projects.

It is not my intention to enter into a minute detail of that long war, maintained on our side against a constant superiority of numbers, at the expence of the lives of many thousands of brave men, and at the risque of near a million sterling of the Company's property, I shall only observe, that from our successes, the Nabob's situation was so different at the end of the year 1753, from what it was in 1750, at which time the single city of Trichinopoly was the only part of his dominions that remained unconquered by the French, that in 1753 he had recovered, and was master of, almost the whole Carnatic, and at that time the French resources seemed nearly exhausted.

The French Company, elated at the success which attended Monsieur Dupleix in the commencement of the war, at first faintly approved

his measures, but the opposition of the other European powers, the unforeseen events of war, and the deviating so widely from their natural object of commerce, rendering the event very uncertain, there was nothing could fix their faith in the rectitude of those measures, but successes that might attend them, and a happy period to the war, which Mons^r Dupleix promised them in every letter. But, instead of these successes, they saw the countries, of which they expected the revenues would be their reward, in the hands of their enemies, and their stock exhausting in the support of an uncertain war, which ruined their trade, and the manufactories of the country, from which they had before reaped advantages suitable to their establishment.

The war appeared in the same light to the English Company, and therefore both agreed on a neutrality for the Carnatic, till means should be found to put an end to that and all future wars by negotiations at home. But as it regarded the Carnatic only, it did not check the progress of the French arms in the Decan, the Soubah of which had ceded to them Maffulipatan,

lipatan, and four provinces, which yielded them a revenue of 400,000 *l.* sterling a year. Nor did there appear any check to their progress in that country: the French gave law, by their influence over the Soubah, to a country as extensive and populous as France; and by a prudent management of what they had so acquired, or by increase of dominion, it was in their power even then to have laid a foundation on which M. Dupleix's great ideas of conquest might have been realized. And altho' the French Company themselves should have chosen to adhere to their commercial interests, Dupleix's projects suited too well with that spirit of conquest which prevails in the French court, to be neglected; and upon the breaking out of the war it is reasonable to conclude, from the forces sent out under General Lally, that they adopted them in their utmost extent. Our settlements were but a secondary object, their forces were so formidable, that they, with great probability, imagined them a trifling obstacle, (which surmounted) Cape Comorin and the Ganges might have been the boundaries of their dominions. The spirited efforts of Mr. Pocock

could not prevent their landing their army ; St. Davids fell , no obstacle but Fort St George remained to the accomplishment of their farther conquests. Here they met with a resistance suitable to the importance of the object, and I am persuaded, that Messrs Pigott, Laurence, Draper, and many other gentlemen of the garrison, would have been buried under its ruins, sooner than have surrendered the place.

The siege was raised, their army reduced, and misfortunes pressed them on every side.

Prior to the siege of Madrafs, they had lost all their settlements in Bengal four hundred Europeans, sent under Col Ford into the Decan, by the great success of that gallant officer, put a period to their expectations in that country. The reduction of Masulipatan, the four northern provinces, and the making all the French army there prisoners, greatly contributed to our success at Fort St George, as it diverted great part of the French forces, who otherwise would have been called to the siege of Madrafs, and deprived them of supplies of money and provisions. And finally, as Col.

Ford's

Ford's expedition obliged the French to send from the coast 500 men for the relief of Masulipatan, of whom very few returned to Pondicherry, the French were reduced to act upon the defensive only, and were greatly distressed for money and provisions, which Fort St. George was plentifully supplied with from Bengal. Under these circumstances the fall of Pondicherry closed the scene of all their glory, and left them not a foot of land in India.

Thus have I traced, from its commencement, the progress and issue of a war, begun on principles of French ambition, but happily terminated by the greatest efforts of valour and good conduct on the part of the English. I flatter myself, that every Proprietor must receive infinite pleasure in the reflection, that they will soon reap the benefit of these great and glorious successes, now secured to them by the XIth article of the definitive treaty. Although there are some geographical errors, such as making the Soubah of Bengal's dominions extend near 200 miles more than they do, to Yanam, and making that place the northern instead of the southern part of the coast

of

of, Oriza the acknowledging, Salabad Jing lawful Soubah of the Decan, and Mahomed, Ally Gawn lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, had better have been omitted for several reasons, and may be productive of disputes hereafter between the two Companies yet, upon the whole, the article is very advantageous to the East India Company.

As my opposition originally arose from the defects in the Preliminary Articles, (in which the interest of the East India Company appeared to me to be much exposed) it affords me a very particular pleasure to think that I have been any ways instrumental to the amendment of that article relative to the Company. Of the part I acted in it, Mr. Wood himself bore testimony in the general court and tho' it had but little weight at that time, yet I conclude myself, that when the voice of clamour ceases, *that*, like every other part of my conduct towards the Company, will be found to have sprung from the warmest zeal for their honour and interest.

As to myself, I can with truth affirm, that the principal motive that induced me to offer myself

myself a candidate for the India Direction, was the interest of the East India Company; and my reasons ~~for~~ espousing the cause of Mr. Rous, arose from a conviction of his integrity. Contrary to my expectation, my opponents, the very men who had so often concurred in giving me the most public testimonies of their sense of my services, were the men that opposed my coming into the Direction. Better versed in such business than myself, they prevailed in this dispute, and every species of calumny was made use of that malice could invent; and the first step my opponents took, after the election, was to order their servants abroad to stop the rents of my estate in the East Indies, which they themselves had regularly paid me for several years, without objection. Their motives for taking such a step at such a time are too obvious to be insisted upon.

Anonymous letters in the public papers were the channel my enemies chose for those dishonourable reflections, which not one amongst them would have dared to have set their names to.

I have collected, from the heap of absurdities published on that occasion in the Gazetteer of the 12th of April, 1763, the following articles.

1st. That I had refused to answer certain inquiries respecting the distribution of the Nabob's treasure.

2dly. That I had done injustice to the relations of the unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole, by with-holding from them the sums stipulated by treaty for their indemnification.

3dly. That having deposed the Nabob, I entered the treasury, and distributed the wealth according to the pleasure of those intrusted with the Company's authority, leaving the Nabob destitute, and necessitated to borrow money of the Company for his necessary expences; by all which the Company may hereafter become responsible to the Mogul.

4thly. That no servant of the Company shall remit money home but by their cash, which order I broke through, by remitting large sums by the Dutch cash.

5thly. That I was guilty of a breach of trust, by supplying a Portuguese ship, bound from

from Bengal to Lisbon, with goods and money, to the great detriment of the Company.

6thly That I have no right to an annual revenue of 27,000 *l.* a year, given me by the Nabob, which must be supported and maintained at the Company's expence.

The first of these articles does not explain what the inquiries were I had refused to answer; I therefore do not clearly understand what the tendency of such inquiries were. If they had any relation to the monies received from the Nabob by the Company, the treaties entered into with the Nabob by the Admirals Watson and Pocock, the President of Fort William and myself, in consequence of which the Company received near a million and an half sterling, will account for that proportion to which the Company can lay any claim. This however does not seem to be the matter alluded to, but something respecting myself, or the fortune I acquired in the Company's service. It is well known, that I was not in England at the time the general court was held relating to the distribution of the Nabob's treasure,

treasure, and could not possibly give any answer to inquiries on that subject; but if there was any foundation for such inquiries, the Directors were wanting in their duty to the Company, in not making them after my return: and it will appear, that the Directors, under their own hands, approved of the donations bestowed by the Nabob on individuals for their services. But however, as the neglect of the Directors, if that was the case, in not calling me to account, can by no means sanctify my actions, it is necessary, that I give the best satisfaction I am able relative to this matter.

I was appointed, by the gentlemen of Fort St. George, commander in chief of the troops sent for the recovery of the Company's settlements in Bengal, on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Watson. On our arrival in the Gan- ges, we found the unhappy remains of a once flourishing colony on board a few merchants' ships in that river. We landed, drove the enemy from Fort William, and put the Company's Governor and Council in possession.

The

The Nabob then came down with an army of sixty or seventy thousand men, and a heavy train of artillery, flushed by his late successes against the English. The King's and Company's forces, consisting of a battalion of 450 men, a battalion of Seapoys, and a body of sailors from the Squadron, attacked the Nabob in his camp, and defeated him. We then made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to restore all the effects he had taken. In consequence of which, the Governor and Council recovered in goods and money to a large amount.

War being declared against France, we took Chandernagore; and having convincing proofs, that the Nabob's firm intention was to extirpate the English, as soon as the troops and Squadron left the river, we entered into an alliance with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, a general officer in the Nabob's service, and a near relation to the Nabob; and accordingly a treaty was concluded between us, the chief of the Nabob's army, and the British. A copy of which may be seen in the Appendix, No. 2.

chief object of which was, on the part of our ally, a full satisfaction ~~for~~ the Company and all the inhabitants, for the losses they had sustained by the capture of Fort William, and other factories which the Nabob had plundered, with grants of lands and privileges; and, on the Company's part, to place and support him in the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá.

Every thing being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the secret committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob, whom we intirely defeated. His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was, in a few days, in possession of the government, and a revenue of three millions and a half sterling per annum.

The one half of the secret committee being then present at the capital, and a report made by the Nabob's ministers of the state of the treasury, it was settled, that half the sum stipulated by treaty should be paid in three months, and the other half in three years, all conditionally, that we supported him in the government.

The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of eastern princes, made presents, both to those of his own court, and to such of the English, who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great prince. I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour : I never sought to conceal it, but declared publicly, in my letters to the secret committee of the India Directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India. What injustice was this to the Company ? They could expect no more than what was stipulated in the treaty. Or what injunction was I under to refuse a present from him who had the power to make me one, as the reward of honourable services ? I know of none. I had surely myself a particular claim, by having devoted myself to the Company's military service, and neglected all commercial advantages. What reason then can be given, or what pretence could the Company have to expect, that I,

after having risked my life so often in their service, should deny myself the only honourable opportunity that ever ~~offered~~ of acquiring a fortune, without prejudice to them, who, it is evident, would not have had more for my having had less. When the Company had acquired a million and an half sterling, and a revenue of near 100,000 l. per annum, from the success of their forces under my command; when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta; and when individuals had, in consequence of that success, acquired large estates; what would the world have said, had I come home, and rested upon the generosity of the present Court of Directors? ~~It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company were the principles that governed all my actions: and that had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the custom of that country I was intitled to, the Jaghire itself, great as it~~

is, would have been an object, scarce worth my consideration.

The city of Maxadavad is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city. These, as well as every other man of property, made me the greatest offers, (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required); and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of. But preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal, and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one single instance of my being influenced by interested motives to the Company's disadvantage, or to do any act that could reflect dishonour to my country or the Company, in any

one action of my administration, either as Governor or commanding officer.

I little expected ever to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received such treatment from the Court of Directors, especially after the many public and honourable testimonies of approbation I had received in the orders and letters mentioned in the Appendix, No. 3.

I am not ostentatious, but upon this occasion am forced to deviate from myself, and with great reluctance expose these public testimonies of my conduct, in contrast to the dishonourable motives which have induced my enemies to impeach it.

As to the 2d article, accusing me with injustice towards the 'relations of the unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole, whoever will be at the pains to inquire, will learn that 625,000 *l.* was the sum assigned to make good the losses sustained by the Europeans; that the money was sent down to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, and by them deposited in the Company's treasury, who gave orders to their treasurer to issue it out as demanded to the secretary

appointed by the 24 commissioners, chosen by the inhabitants themselves to adjust their respective claims ; and that none of it ever passed through my hands. They will further learn, that the sum assigned did not, only suffice to pay the principal of such losses, but for a dividend of 22 per cent. for interest, besides a sum sufficient for another such dividend, which has been detained for the Company's use by orders to their servants abroad. It is very possible, that the heirs of some of the unfortunate sufferers in the Black Hole may not have been able to obtain their right, for want of attornies to apply to the commissioners for that right. If there be any such demands, I should imagine they may still have justice done them out of the remaining treaty money, now in possession of the Company. But to shew in what a light the sufferers themselves regarded my conduct, I take the liberty to insert a paragraph, extracted from a letter signed by almost all the inhabitants of Calcutta, which will shew the Proprietors their sentiments of my conduct on that subject.

“Honoured Sir,
 “The inhabitants of this settlement, truly
 “sensible of the benefits they have received
 “from your generous assistance, in obtaining
 “them restitution for the heavy losses they
 “sustained in the miserable catastrophe of June
 “1756, and for your great care and assiduity
 “in the collecting of that part of the Nabob’s
 “donation; Do, with the utmost gratitude,
 “return their hearty and sincere thanks for
 “those great favours conferred on them, the
 “remembrance whereof will be for ever in-
 “delible.”

As to the third article, which seems to inti-
 mate some right in the Great Mogul to the
 treasures of the late Nabob Sarajah Dowla, and
 that the Company may hereafter be responsible
 to him on account of these treasures; it may
 be said, that there is such a Prince, but he is
 almost without territory or power; the little he
 possesses not being equal in extent or riches to
 one twentieth part of his dominions, and
 therefore unable to enforce in those provinces
 any authority that might have formerly belong-

ed to him ; and he is now so far reduced, as to be a captive to, and in the hands of, one of the Soubahs.

However, as I would give the Proprietors all the satisfaction I can, as to this article, I will lay all the particulars before them, and for that purpose I must inform them, that as soon as it was known, that Sarajah Dowla was fled from the city, a new ministry was immediately appointed, and the former officers became responsible to them.

The gentlemen appointed by the Governor and Council to receive the money due by the treaty, were agents for this purpose. As to myself, I was never there but once out of curiosity ; and I do declare, that I never interfered, directly or indirectly, any further than what immediately related to the payment of the money stipulated by the treaty.

The treasure was most certainly the property of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, as it would have been of any other Nabob, who might have succeeded to Sarajah Dowla ; but for the application of the money, I will suppose, for once, that it did belong to the Great Mogul :

surely then it was out of that very Imperial treasure the Company received 1,250,000 *l.* The sufferers at Calcutta ~~1,000,000~~ 1,000,000 *l.* and the navy and army 600,000 *l.* and that if Meer Jaffier had no right to give any part of the Imperial treasure to individuals for their services, he had no power to bestow those several large sums to the Company, sufferers, navy, and army; and if he was answerable for the one, he must for the other. If therefore, it was wrong in me to accept the favours of the Nabob out of that treasury, certainly it must be so too in the Company, sufferers, navy, and army.

As to what is insinuated, that the donations given by the Nabob to individuals, had drained his treasury in such a manner, that the Company were obliged to lend him large sums of money, this is not only a very unfair, but a false *representation of facts*. The time the Company lent this money to the Nabob was, when his dominions were in peace, and the sum was only two lack of rupees, about 25,000 *l.* The Nabob's minister himself informed me, he had then to the amount of near a million sterling in jewels,

jewels, a large sum of money in his treasury, and to a very great amount in plate. It could not be owing to distress that he borrowed this money; his pretences of poverty might have been made use of with a political view, as is the constant practice in that country; or he might have desired to borrow money of the Company for fear they should desire to borrow of him. But the real fact was this; if I may be supposed to know it, who then presided over the Company's affairs in Bengal.

By the IXth article of the treaty with the Nabob, the Company's possessions would have been of little consequence to them, unless we were allowed to put not only our own construction on the words of the article, but also to have an additional quantity of land to the northward, to the amount of near 12,000 L. per annum. In order to accomplish this, we not only were obliged to comply with the Nabob's request, made at that particular time, but also to make presents to several of the principal officers about him, to engage his consent to this grant, which he was not bound to make by treaty; and I believe the Directors know very well:

Well. if not, I am sure the Governor and Council are well apprized of, what consequence it was, to the Company, ~~to~~ to obtain the grant of those lands to the northward of Calcutta. I will venture to affirm, had the Nabob desired a loan of money at any other time but this, his request would not have been complied with.

The unfortunate Meer Jaffier was a stranger to distress until I had left the country. It was when the King's son, and a large body of Morattoes, invaded and ravaged his kingdom for a twelvemonth together, and had stopped the receipt of great part of his revenues. It was then, that the Nabob began for the first time, to experience the misfortunes of distress. Yet still his distress was not so great, but that his successor was able, immediately, to bestow on the Company eight lack of rupees, or 100,000 l. sterling, to carry on the war on the coast of Coromandel.

As to the fourth article, That no servant of the Company shall remit money home but by their cash; which order I broke through, by remitting large sums by the Dutch cash. That I did,

I did, jointly with my friends, remit a large sum of money to England, by bills on the Dutch company, is most true, for this reason only; that the English Company's treasury was so full, that their servants abroad thought it inconsistent with the Company's interest to grant bills; when it was more than possible, the French might drive us out of all India, and the Company not only lose what they had just acquired, but become responsible for the immense sums, which under the terror that then prevailed of the French force, would be immediately poured into their treasury: and though I should have thought it a great advantage to have remitted my fortune home at that dangerous crisis, by bills on the Company, when the motion was made in council to receive all monies tendered for bills payable in three years. I was myself one of those who opposed it; and the only money received into the treasury was Mr. Watson's estate, to shew a sense of the services received from him: Sums due to the merchants of London, for coral and bullion: small sums from the principal servants, for remittances to their families, and the purchase

of necessaries, were received, and bills granted for them.

I flatter myself it will give me some merit with the Company, that I opposed the fatal designs of the Dutch in the armament they had sent to Bengal, with so much perseverance, more especially as I had at that time the greatest part of my property in their power, the bills given me not being wholly due till three years after sight; and I could not but be very sensible at that time of the risk I ran, by such an opposition to that dangerous undertaking; and I will venture to affirm, that had not my trustees agreed to accept the payment of the money upon the Dutch Company's own terms, which were a very considerable deduction for prompt payment, the greatest part of my fortune would have been at this day in their hands.

As to the fifth article, That I was guilty of a breach of trust, by supplying a Portuguese ship, bound from Bengal to Lisbon, with goods and money, to the great detriment of the Company; there is not one word of truth in the whole of this assertion. Those who did,
may

may plead the same defence that I do for my remittance by the Dutch : the inference drawn is absurd ; the Company had more money than goods to purchase.

I now come to the last article, viz. That I have no right to an annual revenue of *£7,000 l.* a year, given me by the Nabob, which must be supported and maintained at the Company's expence.

In this article, party resentment seems to have confounded all ideas of right and wrong ; and my opposition to the present leading gentlemen has cast such a mist before their eyes, that they cannot discern that right which they had before acknowledged by every act that could express it. But as I intend to make the Proprietors the judges of that right, I shall explain the cause, for which the Jaghire, or Lordship, which produces to me an annual income of about *30,000 l.* a year, was given me, and the nature of the grant by which I hold it.

Soon after the battle of Plassey, the Nabob, of his own free motion, without the least hint or application from me, sent a petition to the court

court of Dehli, that I might be created an Omrah, or Lord of the Empire. In the beginning of the year 1758, the Nabob received and delivered me the patent (with other honours accompanying;) by which I was created an Omrah of the command of 5000 foot, and the rank of 6000 horse.

According to the custom of the country, the Soubah assigns a Jaghire, or estate, within his own provinces, to support the dignity of the new created Omrah; but at the time I received the patent of creation, I knew of no such intention in the Nabob, whose friendship for me gave way to other views.

I have before hinted, that the Soubah's first plan was to evade the execution of the remaining part of the treaty, and to appear, in the eyes of his subjects, as maintaining himself by his own strength, and not by our support.

He took the field, as early as the season would permit, with an army of 80,000 horse and foot; and it was with reluctance that he sent to me to join him with our troops, and more from the apprehension of leaving us so near

near his capital during his absence, than from
 the expectation of our assistance in the further
 progress of his designs.

We marched the army up, now reduced by
 the malignancy of the climate to 300 English,
 with two battalions of Seapoys, and a train of
 artillery.

At our first meeting I reproached him with
 the duplicity of his conduct, and insisted on
 his immediately paying down all arrears, and
 that he should give secure assignments for the
 payment of the rest of the treaty-money. I
 freely gave him my opinion of his keeping up
 such a vast army, which drained his treasury to
 no manner of purpose; that the example of
 his predecessor might be a lesson to him how
 little such troops were to be depended upon;
 and that when danger pressed, he would find
 the English his only true and firm support. In
 his exaltation to his new grandeur, and seeing
 himself at the head of such a numerous army,
 my advice made little impression; so I con-
 cluded with telling him, he might amuse him-
 self with his own ideas, but, in the mean time,
 that I was neither to be trusted with nor in-

mediated; and, after some struggle, I obtained immediate payment of the arrears, amounting to several hundred thousand pounds, and an assignment of certain districts, the revenues of which were to be collected by the Company, as a security for the rest; and from this instant the Nabob may have been said to comply literally with his treaty.

These were the Nabob's sentiments at that time, and such they continued until the following year, when the province of Bahar being invaded by the Mogul's son, (drove by the Vizier from his father's court) the Nabob attempted to take the field; and now experienced what I always inculcated to be true. Vast arrears were due to his numerous army, who, taking advantage of the times, surrounded him, and insisted not only on the whole of the arrears due from his predecessor as well as himself, but on an advance of pay. These demands amounting to many millions, it was impossible he could comply with them.

In this exigency he applied to us, entertaining great doubts of our friendship; from the consciousness of the insincere part he had acted, and

and from a just sense of his own imprudence, in having neglected the advice I had given him the preceding year, to disband the greatest part of his large and useless army. Bound by treaty and interest, it behoved us to secure the attachment and dependancy of the Nabob. We immediately took the field, and relieved him, for the present, from the inconveniencies he laboured under from his own forces, who, over-awed by our presence, desisted from their demands. Being joined by 8000 horse and foot, under the command of his son the young Nabob, we marched four hundred miles in twenty-three days, and forced the enemy to raise the siege of Patna, the capital of the province of Bahar, and pursued them two hundred miles further, until they passed the boundaries of the Soubah's dominions, and then obliged the tributary Rajahs to pay their arrears. In the mean time, the Nabob's army had again surrounded him, and were become more outrageous than ever; and he was upon the point of being put to death, when the news of our success dispersed them, and they became as

D

submissive

submissive and fawning, as they were before daring and insolent.

Services rendered at such a crisis, convinced him at last of the value of such sincere allies. On my return from the north he came to meet me, and after many obliging expressions, that I had saved his life, and made him a second time Soubah, he reproached himself with ingratitude in never having appointed me a Jaghire. On taking his leave he told me, Jaggerseat (a man of great note in that country) was intrusted with his orders on that subject. Jaggerseat soon after put a paper roll into my hands, in the presence of Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Luke Scrafton, (both now in England) and Major Carnac, which proved to be a patent for the Lordship of the lands rented by the Company, in consequence of the article of our treaty with him. The patent was soon followed by the order in the Appendix, No. 4, being an order to the Governor and Council of Calcutta, to pay me the rents of the said lands, instead of paying them as before into his treasury, he having made me Jaghiredar, or Lord of the country.

Such were the motives, that induced the Nabob to give me this token of his sense of my services, and such the manner in which it was conferred; by me unasked and unexpected: I say unasked and unexpected, because, from the time of my receiving my honours from Delhi, in December 1757, to this time, nothing had ever passed on the subject, but one letter from me to Jaggerseat, in January 1759, informing him, that the Nabob had made me an Omrah without a Jaghire, which I understood did usually accompany it, and to desire he would apply to him on that occasion; to which letter he returned for answer, that he had applied to his Excellency, who ordered him to acquaint me, that he never granted Jaghires in Bengal; that Orixá was too poor, but that I might have one in Bahar. Looking on the Nabob's answer as an evasive one, and that he was not inclined to comply with my request, I never wrote or thought any more on this subject, until I received a second letter from Jaggerseat in answer to my first, after our success against the King's son, that the Nabob had turned the thing in his mind, and was willing to grant me

in Jaghure in Bengal; but the nature of it, where, or of what value it was to be, I was entirely ignorant; till the patent explained it, and I confess it gave me the greater pleasure to find it to be the Lordship of the Company's lands, because the Company was thereby freed from all dependance on the government.

It now remains to say something of the validity and nature of the grant. It is to be observed, that the lands ceded to the Company by the IXth article of the treaty, were only ceded to them as perpetual Jemindars, or renters, the Nabob reserving the lordship and quit rents, which amounted to near 30,000 *l* yearly, and the Company could never be lawfully dispossessed, so long as they continued to pay that quit rent. It was, then, the lordship and rents so reserved that he made over to me; no prejudice resulting to the Company, who had farmed out the same to a very considerable yearly amount, with a prospect of great increase of rents, and only this difference, that they were to pay the quit rent to me, instead of the government, to this nation a profit of 30,000 *l* a year.

With regard to the validity of this grant, I shall only say, that the patent passed all the usual forms of the country, and was founded on the very same authority that the Company had for all their acquisitions, the power of a Soubah. This I think is a sufficient answer to the charge in the 6th and last article.

I shall now proceed to lay before the Proprietors the measures taken by my adversaries, subsequent to the election, and the reasons they assign to support them.

But I shall first take notice, that by the services rendered to the Nabob, the Company not only recovered the misfortunes sustained from the late Nabob, with the possessions I have already mentioned, but also acquired, and had delivered into their hands, the absolute power over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, whose ordinary annual revenues produce three millions and a half sterling, insomuch that they were enabled to set up and establish in the Soubahship any person they thought fit. This matter may be clearly seen by the letters in the Appendix, No. 3.

This power the Company, soon after I left Bengal, exercised, and in 1761 they entered into a treaty with Mahomed Cossin Cawn, son in law to Meer Jaffier, for that purpose, (a copy of which treaty is in the Appendix, No 6) By this treaty the Company acquired a much larger district of country, than they before enjoyed under the treaty with Meer Jaffier, together with a larger estate and interest in those lands, than they had in those before granted, for the annual amount of the lands last acquired were near 600,000*l* and instead of reserving to the government the usual rents of homage which those lands were subject to, both the lands and those rents were granted to the Company.

This treaty being signed by Mahomed Cossin Cawn and the Presidents of the Company at Calcutta, on behalf of the Company, the Nabob Meer Jaffier was surrounded in his palace by the forces of the Company, and obliged to relinquish his government, and was carried down to their settlement at Calcutta, where he did till lately reside, and Mahomed Cossin

Coffin Cawn was placed in the executive part of the government in his stead.

I shall not at present enter into the consideration of the grounds and motives for so early and extraordinary a change in the government of the provinces, being inclined to think those matters will be laid before you by persons better acquainted with that transaction than I am. For the present I introduced it only to shew the great advantages the revolution, brought about by the removal of Surajah Dowla, had produced to the Company, and that those advantages might, with prudent management, be increased but at the same time I must observe, that the revolution against Surajah Dowla was a matter of necessity, as upon that event only depended the existence of the India Company; and I hope nothing but the preservation of the Company's property in those parts induced those concerned in the last revolution (if it may be so called) to bring it about.

I have before acknowledged, that my fortune arose from the grateful bounty of the Nabob for my services to him, and altho' I shall ever think of my services to the Company with

pleasure, yet the Company cannot say I owe them any thing in point of gratitude. My allowance, as President, was (until increased by the additional allowance of 1000*l.* a year) less than my predecessor received (by 1200*l.* a year. Indeed, had the Court of Directors rewarded my services in the same manner they have done those of my successor, by allowing me two and an half per cent. on all the revenues acquired for them, it might have been otherwise. My adversaries cannot therefore say I acquired my fortune out of the property of the Company, or in diminution of that of my country, or any of my fellow subjects: on the contrary, it is well known, that had it not been for the successes we were blessed with, this kingdom would never have had the benefit of one farthing of the money which has been brought into it, in consequence of those successes. This, being the case, one might have expected, after so many years service to the Company, and under the circumstances I have described, they would at least have permitted me to have had the quiet enjoyment of that fortune: I had so obtained.

And here I must acquaint the Proprietors, that the rents of my Jaghire were regularly paid during the time I was in Bengal; and since my return, have been received by my attornies in Bengal, and remitted by them to me, as the ships sailed from thence, in Bills on the Company here, which were always regularly paid without subjection, until May last, when, on the ships going out for Bengal, which were the first that went out after the election on that voyage, I was given to understand, that orders had been sent to stop the payment of my Jaghire. I applied to the Court of Directors for a copy of those orders, but that was refused; however, I afterwards came to the knowledge of them. They are to the following purport: “With respect to the
 “Jaghire given by the late Nabob, Jaffier
 “Ally Khan, to Lord Clive, arising out of
 “the lands granted by the said Nabob to the
 “Company, we direct, that you do not pay
 “any further sums to the attornies of Lord
 “Clive on the account; and we further di-
 “rect, that whatever shall arise in future from
 “the said Jaghire, be carried to our credit.
 L^r “You

" You are to cause exact accounts, to be made
 " out and transmitted to us, not only of what
 " shall so come into our cash, but also of all
 " the sums Lord Clive's attornies have already
 " received on the said account, together with
 " the dates of the several payments. His Lord-
 " ship's pretensions to the said Jaghire will be
 " settled here."

And Mr. Sullivan, by a letter wrote at the
 same time by him to the President at Calcutta,
 informed him, " That all cordiality being at an
 " end with Lord Clive, the Court of Directors
 " had stopped payment of his Jaghire; a mea-
 " sure which would have taken place years ago,
 " had it not been for him (Mr. Sullivan); and
 " that on this head the said President was to
 " obey every order, which he might receive from
 " the Court of Directors; and that more was
 " not, nor must be, expected of him."

I shall not trouble the Proprietors with any
 observations on this order and letter, they
 will sufficiently speak for themselves; but shall
 only remark, that I must think it extremely
 hard to be deprived of my property, because I
 cannot agree with the present Court of Directors.

But the Company having paid 'my' Jaghire so long without any objection, and even 'now' not claiming any right thereto themselves, nor pretending to say that any one else does; under such circumstances one might be at a loss to conceive what foundation in reason there could be for the Directors sending such orders to Bengal. But, on inquiry into the matter, the reasons assigned appear to be four.

1st. That the Mogul is sovereign of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixas, and Proprietor of all the lands within those provinces; and that the rents granted to me are the antient imperial rents reserved and payable to the Emperor; and that therefore the Nabob could not grant or alienate the same from the imperial Crown; and that the Company may be called to an account by the Emperor for what they have paid to me: Nor is that all the Company seem to expect, but that I am accountable to them for what I have received.

2dly. That suppose the Nabob had a right to alienate those rents, such alienation could exist

exist no longer, than the Nabob who granted the same continued in his government, and that such alienation was not binding on his successor; and as Meer Jaffier had been deposed, the grant became of no effect.

3dly. That my acceptance of the dignity of an Omrah, or title of honour, (which honour they doubt my having had, altho' they have a copy of the Patent in their custody) was contrary to my duty to the Company, as I might be obliged, by such acceptance, to assist the Mogul and the Nabob in war, even against the Company.

And lastly, for fear these reasons should fall them, then comes a fourth; which is, that suppose I have a right, that even then I have no remedy in England, but must resort to the court of the Mayor of Calcutta, or to the courts of the Emperor at Delhi, or the court of the Nabob.

As to the first, it may be proper to observe, that, upon the original foundation of the Mogul Empire, all the lands, like those in England, were in the crown, who granted the rents, in the nature of free-farm

farm rents in England: These lands were, and now are, called *Calfa Lands*, or lands belonging to the crown; the rents whereof were, for several years, received by officers appointed within the provinces by the Emperor for that purpose; and the Nabobs, who were then Viceroy's to the Mogul, had pensions assigned them to maintain their courts, and support their governments. But, for a great number of years past, that method has been changed, and instead of pensions, the Emperors allotted to the Nabobs large quantities of land within the provinces, to be disposed of and managed for their own benefit; and these lands were, and now are, called *Jaghire Lands*, and for which no taxes are paid: And as to the rest of the lands within the provinces, the Nabobs farmed the same of the Mogul, at a certain yearly sum.

This alteration being received into the Mogul government, it became immaterial to the Mogul what the Nabobs did with the rents; the yearly sum stipulated was all he expected, and that they were obliged to pay; so that all the rents, and also the lands that produced them,

them, were under the power of the Nabobs, who might and did dispose of them as they thought fit, and out of them conferred favours on whom they pleased. The Nabobs granted zemindaries or leases of all the lands from time to time at their pleasure, or as occasion required; and in this state the constitution and usage of the Mogul Empire stood at the death of Aurengzebe.

After the death of Aurengzebe, the Nabobs began to assume sovereign authority, and the invasion of the Persians, before taken notice of, rendered that sovereignty absolute; and the Nabobs do now, and have for many years, exercised all those sovereign rights, regarding the lands and revenues of the provinces, which the Mogul Emperors ever had.

It is under the authority of the Nabob, the Company now hold their zemindary in the lands subject to my Jaghirc; it is under the same authority, they now hold by treaty with the Nabob Cossim Cawn large districts of country, producing near 600,000l. a year to them, without paying any rent at all, notwithstanding those lands are calsa or imperial lands, and

and would, in case the original constitution of the Mogul Empire existed, be subject to the payment of the ancient reserved rents on the Great Mogul, to a very large amount; it is well known that there are numbers of jaghires in the province of Bengal, granted by former Nabobs, that have subsisted for several generations.

Yet as to my Jaghire, they now at once alledge it was an illegal act in Meer Jaffier, and at the same time admit that the Company are in the enjoyment of all the lands granted to them by the Nabob Cossin Cawn, without paying or being subject to any rent at all; and that the grant from Cossin Cawn to them, both of the lands and ancient rents, is valid and effectual: this seems a contradiction not easily to be reconciled. But for a moment, let us suppose that the fears the Company entertained at that instant, of being accountable to the Great Mogul, might have obscured the light which the comparison of things alone would have discovered, and that the Mogul should hereafter recover the ancient dominion of his empire; it must then be observed, that the annual tribute stipulated

puted to be paid by the Nabob on his confirmation, is in fact the same annual sum formerly reserved and paid by the Nabobs for the farm of the rents and lands within the provinces. Can it then be supposed that the Mogul would require both the revenues of the lands, and also the annual sum stipulated to be paid by the Nabob, in lieu of those revenues? It might, with some degree of probability, have been said, that he might, according to the constitution of the empire, call the Nabobs, who might then be considered as his Viceroys, to an account for all the annual tribute remaining due from them: But to say the Company would be answerable to the Mogul for the rents paid by them to me, is an inconsistency equal to the former, and not to be reconciled to reason or the nature of things: And even to furnish themselves with this pretence, bad as it is, they must have had a very extraordinary foresight; and I should be glad to have been informed of the period such a reckoning was likely to take place.

I have before taken notice of the present circumstances of the Mogul, and by what means
a Prince

a Prince, under his circumstances, or even sup-
 posing him, in as good a situation as his prede-
 cessors for several years past have been, could
 recover the dominions of large, and powerful
 provinces, which had long shaken off his autho-
 rity, I am really at a loss to guess. But, to
 remove any doubt the proprietors may entertain
 concerning the power and dominion of the
 Great Mogul in Bengal, or the sovereign autho-
 rity of the Nabob, I will repeat the account
 given by your Directors of those Measures under
 their hands to his Majesty, in the year 1762, in
 a memorial presented by them relative to the
 transactions with the Dutch, which account is
 in the following words: . . .

“By the ancient constitution of the Mogul
 “Empire, of which the provinces of Bengal,
 “Bahar, and Orissa, are a part, the Nabob
 “or Soubah of those provinces was nothing
 “more than the Mogul’s Viceroy; yet, for
 “many years past, as the strength of that
 “constitution has been gradually declining,
 “the Soubahs of these and other provinces
 “have been in like gradation, assuming an
 “independance of the Court of Delhi; and
 “the

“ the shock which the empire received, or ra-
 “ ther the subversion of it, for it has never
 “ recovered, nor probably ever will, from the
 “ irruption of the Persians under Nadir Shah,
 “ has so far confirmed that independance,
 “ that the relation between the Nabob and
 “ the Mogul, is at present little more than
 “ nominal. ~~The Nabob makes war or peace~~
 “ without the privity of the Mogul; though
 “ there appear still some remains of the old
 “ Constitution in the succession to the Na-
 “ bobship, yet in fact that succession is never
 “ regulated by the Mogul’s appointment, tho’
 “ the person in possession, is generally desir-
 “ ous of fortifying a disputed title, by the
 “ Mogul’s confirmation, which the Court of
 “ Delhi, conscious of its inability to inter-
 “ pose more substantially, and desirous of re-
 “ taining an appearance of superiority, rea-
 “ dily grants. The Nabob of Bengal is
 “ therefore, *de facto*, whatever he may be *de*
 “ *jure*, a sovereign Prince, or at worst, not a
 “ viceroy, but a tributary to the Mogul:
 “ there being some kind of tribute still con-
 “ sidered as due, from these provinces to the
 “ Mogul,

“Mogul, though it rarely, if ever, finds its way
 “to Delhi. It appears by the Director’s let-
 “ters, that the Dutch, as well as we, consider
 “him in this light.”

“I must observe, that the Dutch, in order to
 give some colour for their complaints against
 the Company, made use of the following allega-
 tion, viz. “~~The Company is sovereign~~ of the
 “country, and we derive from him, under re-
 “peated phirmaunds, a right to a free naviga-
 “tion from thence to other places; and this
 “right we cannot be deprived of, without in-
 “fringing the phirmaunds of the Great Mogul,
 “which the Nabob, who is only governor of a
 “province, is not authorized to do.”

And it was in answer to this allegation the
 declaration above mentioned was made by your
 Directors, who now find themselves under the
 fatal necessity, on behalf of the Company, of
 making use of the same reasons for justifying
 their conduct towards me, as the Dutch made
 use of to justify theirs towards the Company.

As to the 2d reason assigned by your Di-
 rectors, it might, perhaps, have been well for
 the proprietors, had it never been in their

power to have employed it But as it is assigned as such, I will answer it as I would have done, at the time it was offered by them, without any regard to what has happened, since that may have deprived them of the use they at first proposed from it

There are numbers of instances of Jaghires now subsisting ~~which have been granted by~~ former Nabobs there are many, even on the Company's own lands, of which the Directors might have been informed by the proper officer appointed for surveying those lands, who is now in England, and they might also have been informed, that there were many Jaghires granted by the Nabob Surajah Dowla and Meer Jaffer also existing But enquiry here, seemed not necessary, the Directors at once boldly affirm, my Jaghires to be determined by the removal of Meer Jaffer from the throne, since the grant did not, as they alledge, bind his successor, without the least consideration of the natural inference such an assertion might produce

I have before taken notice, that his Majesty's arms, and those of the Company, by
the

the revolution brought about whilst I was the Commander in Chief, acquired the great power and influence the Company enjoyed in Bengal, when I left that country; and that that power after I came away, was made use of to depose the Prince who sat on the throne whilst I was there, and to establish Mahomed Cossin-Cawn in his stead. It is under these circumstances, that the Directors make use of the 2d reason. Now to give that reason its utmost latitude, it can amount to no more than an admission from the Company, that I had once a good right to require from them the payment of my Jaghire: but that this right is now defeated by a subsequent act, entirely effected by their own agents abroad. The weight and justice of this argument I leave to your considerations.

Before I quit this head, I must beg leave to take notice of the forms agreed on between the Company, and Mahomed Cossin Cawn, which may be seen in the Appendix, No. 6. and by which it will appear, that Meer Jaffier was to remain Nabob to all purposes, except the executive part of the government, which was to

be the province of the new Nabob. This being the basis of that revolution, if it may be so called; it will appear, that the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, still remained Nabob of Bengal: and it is well known, that he did till lately, reside at the Company's factory, at Calcutta, in princely state; and even supposing my Jaghire to be good no longer than the reign of the person who granted it, it would be still subsisting. However, your Directors do now in effect declare, that they will retain my Jaghire for the benefit of the Great Mogul (who would certainly be glad to receive it, as Cossin Ally would readily give any directions touching that matter the Directors think proper, to suggest to him) and that in prejudice to me and their country; though they at the same time are influenced to retain the rents of the lands granted to them, not only by Cossin Cawn, but also by the Nabob Meer Jaffier, in prejudice to the Great Mogul.

As to the 3d reason; here I must beg leave to observe; that the titles of honour used in Europe, are unknown to the Indians; their titles of honour are distinguished only by a number

number of Azaras, or one thousand, from two to ten thousand horse, which is the highest, and was the title of the son of the Great Mogul; the number of six thousand expresses the dignity of an Omrah, but not any less number; and the equipage of the person on whom such honours are bestowed, are proportioned by the usage of the country to his rank. Hence it will appear, that of necessity, no person can be ennobled in India, unless the rank and number he is appointed to, be expressed in the patent; and this is a mere compliment, which does not lay any obligation on the part of the person receiving such honour, to render to the Mogul any service whatsoever; and to affirm the contrary, it must be presumed that the Nabob, in the present case, applied to the Mogul to take me into his service: who, in such service, might (if the emperor meant to recover the ancient dominion of his empire, or the payment of his annual tribute) be employed against the Nabob himself, if military services were to be rendered to the Mogul; which would be an absurdity to suppose.

But the true intent of the honour, was no more than a personal favour to me, and to give me rank amongst the Princes and great men of that country; and may have been of service to you in my negotiations and transactions with them. Monsieur Dupleix, the commander in chief of the French forces in India, obtained a title of honour inferior to mine, and had several Jaghires granted him by the Nabob of the Decan in Lands, ceded to the French Company, which he enjoyed for several yeats after he returned to Europe, and indeed until the lands, upon which the Jaghires were granted, were taken from the French. And Monsieur Dupleix considered his title of honour, as an advantage to the French in those parts.

As to the 4th reason, it is well known, was I, obliged to pursue my remedy in the Mayor's Court, that the judges of that court, are dependants upon the Company: the appeal lies, to their President and Council, nay, the person employed on my behalf, must be dependant on the Company. As to my resorting to the courts of the emperor, or the Nabob, no mandate or process from any such courts could

be enforced against the Company; and were these reasons to prevail, every avenue to justice would be blocked up, and I should enjoy the satisfaction in my own mind, of having a right to what I now demand, without any remedy to obtain it.

I shall end this memorial with some observations on the Company's affairs, at the time the loss of their possessions in Bengal happened, and the regaining those possessions, with all their present great advantages.

When the news of the misfortunes in Bengal first reached Madras, the whole town was flung into a consternation, equal to that of the Court of Directors, when the first advices of it were brought to England. I leave it to Mr. Payne, who was then at the head of the Direction, to describe what he and others suffered from their apprehensions for the Company. Indeed it is the general opinion, that nothing but the sudden advice of the recovery of that valuable settlement, which followed so close upon the news of its loss, could have prevented the Company's sinking under such a misfortune.

. It was the unanimous opinion of the Governor and the Council of Madrafs, that the Company could not exist without their possessions in Bengal. The coast of Coromandel was a burthen to them; instead of defraying the Company's expences, out of the profits of its trade, it had incurred a debt of near half a million. Bombay and the West Coast (free from all disturbances) scarce paid their expences; so that there remained only a few ships to China, for the Company's support. These considerations, and a thorough persuasion that the Company must fall, if Bengal was not recovered, induced the Governor and Council of Madrafs, to send such a force as might answer that purpose: I was the person fixed upon to execute their designs; and as the force sent was more than could be spared, consistent with the safety of the Company's possessions on the coast of Coromandel, at that critical time (being just at the eve of a war with France) they invested me with a power, independant of the Governor and Council of Fort William, that when the Company were re-instated in their possessions, they might be able to recall

17 such

such part of the forces under my command, as might be thought consistent with the Company's interest, in other parts of India.

As soon as the sufferers of Bengal were restored to their habitations, by the re-taking of Calcutta, and to peace, by the defeating of Surajah Dowla, they called upon me to give up that independant power, which the Governor and Council of Madrafs had thought necessary to intrust me with, which demand I could not comply with, without being guilty of a breach of trust.

This circumstance laid me under many difficulties, both with the gentlemen of Bengal and Madrafs. The Governor and Council of the latter had sent me positive orders to return with a part of the forces under my command, after the capture of Charnagore, and not knowing the cause, could not account for my disobedience: the many dreadful consequences to which I exposed myself, in case of a miscarriage, did not escape my reflection. I was under these difficulties; when we began our march to dethrone Surajah Dowla.

Mr. Watts had settled every thing with Meer Jaffier, and the other great officers of state, who had all engaged in the most solemn manner, to declare themselves, and join us with a large force, before we came to action. We marched within twenty miles of the Nabob's army, and then halted, to receive intelligence of the motions and intentions of our friends; when, to our great surprize, Meer Jaffier gave us no hopes of his being able to join us, but expressed great apprehensions of his and our letters being intercepted, and himself being put to death. I wrote repeatedly to him, to insist upon his performing his engagements, and to join us, if it was only with 500 men. This had no effect; I then called a council of war, and put the question, Whether with our own forces alone, and without the prospect of assistance from Meer Jaffier, we should march, and give the Nabob battle, and it passed in the negative. After this, I received a letter from Meer Jaffier, that the Nabob suspecting his designs, had made him swear on the Koran, that he would not fight against him; and that he could not give us his assistance.

ance. Let the Proprietors paint to themselves what I must have suffered, under such a complication of distressed circumstances; and let the Directors remember, that under all these disadvantages, I took upon me to march; and the English arms alone gained the battle of Plassey. It is true, the Directors, in their first show of gratitude, conferred upon me an honour, I believe, never paid to any other before, or since, by addressing a letter of thanks to me alone, signed by the whole court; and that I might be convinced of the sincerity of their sentiments, they sent no less than six or eight of them, which I have in my possession. But as length of time, and circumstances, seem to have produced another way of thinking in these gentlemen, I hope the Proprietors will excuse me, if I assert, for the last time, that by the great acquisitions of wealth obtained by this event, and by the large sums of money paid into their cash, for bills, the Company were enabled to supply every exigence, and answer the demands of every settlement in India, during the whole course of the war. To Madras alone, was

sent upwards of 300,000 l. which must inevitably have fallen, without such assistance; and with that place, all India. The Company, who used to send to India several hundred thousand pounds a year, in bullion, were relieved from that difficulty; which, at such a juncture, they never could have surmounted; and from February, 1758, the time they received the advice of our success, to this day, they have sent very little to the Coast, and still less to Bengal; so that this alone has been a saving to the nation of some millions sterling. The lands ceded to the Company by Cossin Cawn, and all the advantages gained by the deposition of Meer Jaffier, must appear as much a consequence of the battle of Plassey, as the advantages which were gained immediately after that victory: the whole amounting to 700,000 l. a year, may, at 10 years purchase, be valued at 7 millions sterling; the restitution made to the sufferers of Calcutta, and what was given by Meer Jaffier to the navy, army, and others, may be reckoned at 2,000,000 l. fortunes acquired since, at a moderate computation, 1,500,000 l. the Company themselves likewise
received

received from Surajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier, 1,500,000 l. upon the whole, a clear gain to the nation of twelve millions sterling.

I shall conclude this subject with appealing to the Court of Directors, for the truth of these facts, and call upon them to declare whether they think without the battle of Plassey, and its consequences, the East-India Company would have been at this time existing? As great numbers of the Proprietors may be unacquainted with these transactions, I hope they will excuse the necessity I have been under, of laying the whole before them, which I submit to their consideration, justice, and candour.

C L I V E.

A P P E N D I X.

(Meer Jaffier Cawn Bahadr
A servant of the King
Allumgur the Invincible) (Rajah Dulubram Bahadr
A servant of the King
Allumgur the Invincible)

*Treaty executed by Meer Jaffier, (wrote in his
own Hand.)*

I SWEAR by God, and the Prophet of
God, to abide by the terms of this treaty
whilst I have life.

*Meer Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Bahadr,
a Servant of the King Allumgur.*

*Treaty made with the Admiral and Colonel Clive,
Sabut Jung Bahadr, the other Counsellors Mr.
Drake and Mr. Watts.*

1st. Whatever articles were agreed on in
time of peace with the Nabob Surajah Dowla
Munfur Ulmemaleck Shah Kulli Cawn Bahadr
Stybut Jung, I agree to and comply with.

2d. The enemies of the English are my ene-
mies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

.F

3. All

3^d All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal (the Paradise of nations) and Bahar and Orixá, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

4th In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

5th. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

6th For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and others, subjects of Calcutta, twenty five lacks of rupees shall be given

7th For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left

left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive Sabut Jung Behadr, and the rest of the council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

8th. Within the Ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta are tracts of land, belonging to several Zemindars; besides this I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

9th. All the lands lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction; the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the manner with other Zemindars.

10th. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

11th. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hugly, near the river Ganges.

12th. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramazan, in the fourth year of the reign.

Translation of the Sunnod granted to Col. Clive.

1758.

H·I S M A J E S T Y,

ON Saturday the 11th of Rebbecassance, in the fourth of the glorious and happy reign, and the 1171st year of the Hegira, in the Refsalla of the Glory of the Nobility, and Rank of Ameers, the Shrine of Grandeur and Dignity; instructed both in the ways of Devotion and Wealth, to whom the true Glory of Religion and Kingdoms is known; the Bearer of the Lance of Fortitude and Respect, the Embroiderer of the Carpet of Magnificence and Greatness, the Support of the Empire and its Dependencies, to whom it is intrusted to govern and aggrandize the Empire, and Conqueror of Victory in the Battles fought for the Dominion of the World; the Distributer of Life in the Councils of State, to whom the most secret Recesses of the Mysteries of Government are discovered; the Master of the Arts of Penetration and Circumspection, the

Bright-

Brightness of the Mirrour of Truth and Fidelity, the Light of the Torch of Sincerity and Integrity, who is admitted to, and contributes to, the Determinations of the Royal Councils, a Participator of the Secrets of the Penetralia of Friendship, who presides equally over the Sword and Pen, Moderator of the Affairs of the Earth, Chief of the Cawns of the most exalted rank, the Pillar of Ameers of the greatest Splendor, the Trust of the zealous Champions of the Faith, the Glory of Heroes in the Fields of War, and Administrators of the Affairs of the immoveable Empire, Counsellor of enlightened Wisdom and exalted Dignity, adorned with Friendship and Honours, endow'd with Dignity and Discretion. Pillar of the Dominions of Soloman, the Distributor of Glory, Buxey of the Empire, Ameer of Ameers, Hero of the Empire, Tiger of the Country, Mahmud Ahmeed Cawn, the brave Tiger of War, the Commander in Chief of the Forces glorious by Victory, the Tiger of Hind, mighty in Battle.

31 1 I

1 10041

And in the time of the Waga Magarree of the least of the domestics of the Court of Glory and Majesty Sooklaal.

This was written, the command (above) was passed, that Colonel Clive, an European, be favoured with a Munsh of the rank of 6000 and 5000 horse, and the title of "Flower of the Empire, Defender of the Country, the Brave firm in War." This was entered the 10th day of Rebbeasance, in the 4th year, according to the original Yaddaht

FORM of the SIGNING.

To the Glory of Nobility, and Rank of Ameers, the Shiekh
of Grandeur, Dignity, instructed, &c. Be it entered in the
Waka

According to the
account sent by the
Viceroy of the Em-
pire, Administrator
of all affairs taken
from the
account
under the
Seal of
Rampur
land
keel, of
the N
6000 Rank
5000 Horse

After the man-
ner of the
Waka is
concluded

Written on the Day above mentioned of the same Moon, of
the glorious happy Reign

The Copy of this Sannad was en-
tered in the Books of Waka a-
garree, on the 14th of Rabbeesat
in the Fourth Year of his Ma-
jesty's reign

Sun, 17th The Servant of Allah, the
the Warlike King, whose Glory is e-
qual to that of Jumshad, in
War, the Flower of the Country,
Chief of the Forces, the Glory
of Victory, the Tiger of Hind,
Mahmud Ahmeed Cawn,
the brave tiger of War,
Buxey of the Empire,
Ameer of Ameers,
the Tiger of the
Country,
Sun 4

Entered in the Duan's Office, in
the 24th of Rabbeesanne, in the
4th Year of his Majesty's Reign

Sun 1167, the Slave of
Alumgeer the War
like King, Soo
kaab, Sun the
First

his Sannad was sent
of the Waka Nigar-
4th of Rabbeesat
th Year of his Ma-

The slave of Alumgeer the War
like King the Flower of the
Country brave in War,
the glory of Wealth,
Zechaza Cawn
Behadre, 4
of
Reign

1758. NUMBER IV.

Translation of a Perwannah (or Order) from the Nabob Shujah Ulmulk Hossium o' Dowla Meer Mahmud, Jassick Cawn Bahdr Mohabut Sung, to the Honourable President and Council,

BE it known to the noblest of merchants, the English Company, That whereas the Glory of the Nobility, Zubdut Ulmulk Nusseera Dowla Colonel Clive Subat Jung Behadr, has been honoured with a Munsub (or title) of the rank of 6000 and 5000 horse from the Imperial Court, and has exerted himself, in conjunction with me, with the most steady attachment, and in the most strenuous manner, in the protection of the imperial territories, in recompence thereof, the Pergana (or county) of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Chucta (or jurisdiction of Hughley), &c. of the Sircar Sauntgaum, &c. (or treasury) dependant on the Calsa Shereefa and Jagueer, amounting to two hundred and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty eight S. R. and something

8 more,

more, conferred by the Dewannee Sunnud (or King's Lord Treasurer of the province) on the English Company, as their Zemindarrie, commencing from the month Poos, (or December) in the eleven hundred and sixty-fourth year of the Bengal style, from the half of the season Rabbee Soofcannael, in the eleven hundred and sixty-fifth year of the Bengal style, is appointed the Jagueer of the glory of the nobility aforesaid. It behoves you to look upon the above-written person as the lawful Jagueerda: (or Lord) of that place; and in the same manner as you formerly delivered in the due rents of the government, according to the Kifsbundee, (or written agreement) into the treasury of the court, and the Jagueer taking a receipt under the seal of the Drogha (or Recciver-General) and Mushreef, and Treasurer; now in like manner you are regularly to deliver to the above-mentioned Jagueerdar the rents, according to the stated payments, and receive a receipt from the aforesaid person. Be punctual in the strict execution of this

Written the first of Zeckaid 6th sun (or year)
of the reign.

It is passed. (The Nabob's mark.)

N. B. Endorsements.
(The Royran's signing.)

D H

Copied in the books of entered in the
books of the Huzzo, the Dewannee,
the 1st of the 1st of the Mohurum, the
6th sun (or year) of the reign, the Mo-
hurum, the 6th of the reign.

N. B.

Signed by the Dewannee
Peshker, or Accomptant
Secretary.

N. B.

Signed by the Nabob Moon.

*Explanation of the Terms used in Colonel Clive's
Perwannab for his Jagueer.*

Perwannab, A warrant, or a letter from any
person in a superior station to a dependant.

Munful, A dignity.

Calfa Shereef, The office in which all the
King's accounts are passed.

Jagueer, Lands assigned by the King for the
main-

maintenance of a Munsubdar, or contradistinction to the Calix. It signifies the revenues appropriated to the use of the Subahdre and his family.

Dewanee, The Dewan is the King's agent for the collection of his revenues.

Rebbee, The year in all public registers is divided into two seasons, the one called Khet, which comprehends the months of Assin, Cartie, Aghun, Poos, Maug, Phagum; the other Cheif, Bysaac, Int, Affar, Sawun, Bhadun. The latter half of the season Relba commences 1st of the month Affar, on the 12th of June, from which time the Jagueer takes place.

Hissbunde, A contract from the acquittance of a debt by stated payments.

Huzzoor, Literally the presence, applied by way of eminence to the Nabob's court.

Hoskaneel, I have not had time to inform myself of the exact meaning of this word, but believe it to be the name of the present year, the registers of this empire accounting a perpetual revolution of twelve years, each of which is differently named.

A LETTER to ROBERT CLIVE, Esq.

SIR,

OUR most serious attention has been devoted to the commands of our Honourable Employers *per* Hardwick, naming a rotation of Governors for the future management of their affairs at this settlement, and having duly weighed the nature of this ~~rotation~~, with all its attending consequences, a sincere conviction of its being, in our present situation and circumstances, repugnant to the true interest of our Honourable Masters, and the welfare of the settlement in general, obliges us, (though with the utmost respect and deference) to believe, that had our Employers been apprized of the present state of their affairs in this kingdom, they would have placed the *presidentship* in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns, as well as preserving and maintaining the weight and influence the late happy revolution has given us with the Soubah of these provinces, on which influence, at the present period, the interest and welfare of the Company depends

depends in the highest degree at this settlement. The difficulties we may be liable to by a rotation in the executive part of government, with its consequences, are sufficiently obvious in our present state of affairs: we will, however, mention only a few points. The treaty with the Nabob not perfected in all its branches; the possessions of the lands incomplete; the settlement; no posture of defence; the French considerably reinforced with military and a fleet; their designs with respect to Bengal hitherto unknown; and the impossibility of impressing a proper idea of this divided power in the minds of the Soubah and others of this kingdom, who have at all times been accustomed to the government of a single person. A little reflection will introduce many more, and clearly evince the necessity of this address.

The gentlemen nominated Governors, in the Honourable Company's commands per Hardwick, have the highest sense of gratitude for the honour conferred on them by our Employers in their appointment, but deem themselves in duty bound, at this juncture of affairs, to wave all personal honours and advantages, and

and declare, as their sentiment, That a rotation in the executive part of government, for the foregoing reasons, would be extremely prejudicial to the real interest of the Company; in which opinion we unanimously concur, and judge it for the welfare of our Honourable Employers, and of the settlement in general, to deviate in this instance from the commands of our Honourable Masters, and fix the ~~President~~ ship in a single person, till we hear ~~further~~ from Europe.

Your being named as head of the General Committee, (in the letter of the 3d of August last) established at that time, for conducting the Company's affairs in Bengal; your eminent services, abilities, and merit, together with your superior weight and influence with the present Soubah and his officers, are motives which have great force with us on this occasion, and all concur in pointing out you as the person best able to render our Hon. Employers necessary service at this juncture, till they shall make their further pleasure known, by the appointment of a President for their affairs here.

These reasons urge us to make you an offer of being President of the Company's affairs in Bengal, till a person is appointed by the Honourable Company, and we flatter ourselves you will be induced to accept of our offer, from your wonted regard to the interest of our Honourable Employers, and zeal for the welfare of their affairs, which, we doubt not, you are, as well as ourselves, convinced will be much prejudicial by a rotation in the executive part of government

We wait your reply, and have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obed and most humb Servants,

Wm Watts

C Manningham.

Rich Beecher.

Fort William,

26th June, 1758

Minutes out of the Court Books of the East India Company

A Court of Directors held, on Wednesday, February 6, 1754, Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, dated the 5th instant, being read, it was unanimously.

Resolved, That a sword set with diamonds, to the value of 500l be presented by the Court to Capt. Robert Clive, as a token of their esteem for him, and sense of his singular Services to the Company upon the coast of Coromandel

At a general Court held on Wednesday, December 21, 1757, on a motion, and the question being put, it was

Resolved, That the Thanks of this General Court be given to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive, for his eminent and signal services to this Company

At a general Court held on Wednesday, Sept 24, 1760, the Chairman from the Court of Directors informed this Court, that such
impor-

important services had been rendered to the Company in the East-Indies by Vice-Admiral Pocock, and the Colonels Clive and Lawrence, as appeared from the accounts formerly laid before this Court, and lately received, to demand some farther marks of the Court's sense thereof than had been already expressed; and moving the Court thereupon, it was on the question

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Robert Clive, and Colonel Stringer Lawrence, for their many eminent and signal services to this Company.

And another motion being made,
Ordered, That the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, wait upon those Gentlemen, and acquaint them with this mark of this Court's great regard for their services.

And another being made, it was on the question

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman and Deputy, when they wait upon Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Clive, and Colonel Lawrence, will

will desire those Gentlemen to give their consent that their Portraits, or Statues, be taken, in order to be placed in some conspicuous parts of this House, that their eminent and signal services to this Company may be ever had in remembrance.

N U M-

NUMB'E R III. 2750 1758
Copy of the Company's Letter to Colonel CLIVE,
dated March 8, 1758.
 Sir,

OUR sentiments of gratitude for the many great services you have rendered to this Company, together with the thanks of the General Court, have been hitherto conveyed thro' the channel of our general letters, but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had so great a share of action, both in the *Cabinet and the Field*, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct, and intrepidity, which you have so eminently exerted on this glorious occasion, as well as for *the great and solid advantages* resulting therefrom to the East-India Company.

We earnestly wish your health may permit your continuance in India for such further term as will give you an opportunity of securing the foundation you have laid, as likewise to give your assistance in putting the company's

Mercantile and Civil Affairs on a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now transmitted

For this purpose, as well as in consideration of your eminent services, we have appointed you, *Governor and President of Fort William in Bengal*, and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the General Letter by this conveyance, to which we have annexed an additional allowance of One Thousand Pounds a year, as a testimony of our great regard for you We are,

Your loving Friends,

LONDON March 8,

1758

John Dorrice,	John Payne,
G Steevens,	Lau Sullivan,
Charles Chambers,	J Raymond,
John Browne,	Chris Burrow,
M Western,	M Impey,
Hen Hadley,	John Manship,
Timothy Tullie,	Tho' Phipps,
Cha Gough,	John Raymond,
Tho' Saunders,	Rob Jones

To the Hon Robert Clive, Esq,

N U M B

NUMBER II.

Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated
March 8, 1758.

Paragraph **I**N our Letter of the 3d instant, we the 23d lamented the situation of the many unhappy people who had lost their property on the capture of Fort William, and had no relief from the treaty concluded with the late Nabob, in compassion to their sufferings we recommended your applying to him on their behalf for relief, if you had the least probability of succeeding. It is with great pleasure we find, that the late happy revolution and your care, have produced what we had very little reason to expect from the late Nabob. A grant from the present Nabob of such large sums to make good the losses of the several inhabitants, as we are satisfied are much more than sufficient to indemnify them, even with interest thereon. Altho' the Nabob gives the company a crore of rupes, yet when the immense expence of maintaining the settlement at Fulta, the military charges of our troops from Fort St. George and Bombay, and

the hazard those Presidencies have been exposed to by drawing them off from thence, the charges of fortifications and rebuildings, replacing stores, increase of our garrison, the loss of a season's investments, if not more, and many other obvious particulars are taken into the account, it will appear that the Company will still be considerable sufferers: It is highly reasonable therefore, if the several inhabitants are paid out of the money stipulated in the treaty with the Nabob for that purpose, the full amount of their respective losses, together with interest thereon, that all the surplus should be applied to the Company's Use. We shall expect to hear you have acted in this manner, and that such surplus has been accordingly deposited in our cash; and we direct that you observe this as a rule for your conduct, in the distribution of any further sums of money on this account. We do not intend by this to break in upon any sums of money which have been given by the Nabob to particular persons by way of free-gift or gratuity for their services, it is the surplus of the sums we mean which are agreed to be paid by the Nabob in
the

the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the treaty with him. It is thought proper here to acquaint you, that such surplusses, whatever they are, we propose to expend in such manner, as will tend to the general utility and security of the settlement, they are therefore to be reserved for our farther orders: And you are hereby directed to transmit us, for our information, exact accounts of every person's loss, whether English or other inhabitants, on the late capture of Fort William, and what has been paid to each of them in particular, by way of indemnification for the same, out of the moneys granted by the Nabob for that purpose.

*Translation of a Treaty between, the Nabob Meer
Mahmud Cossin Cawn and the Company.*

(Company's) (Meer Mahmud.
Seal. Cossin Cawn Bahader.)

TWO treaties have been written of the same tenor, and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles undermentioned, between Meer Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahader, and the Nabob Sheemso Dowla Bahader, Governor, and the rest of the Council for the Affairs of the English Company, and during the life of Meer Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahader, and the duration of the factories of the English Company in this Country, this agreement shall remain in force. God is witness between us that the following articles shall in no wise be infringed by either party.

Article I The Nabob, Meer Mahmud Jaffer Cawn Bahader, shall continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income be allowed for his expences.

Art. II. The Neabut of the Subadarne of Bengall, Azemabad, and Orixá, &c. shall be conferred by his Excellency (the Nabob)

on Meer Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahader; he shall be vested with the administration of all affairs of the provinces, and, after his Excellency, he shall succeed to the Government.

Art. III. Betwixt us, and Meer Mahamud Cossin Cawn Bahader, a firm friendship and union is established; his enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

Art. IV. The Europeans and Talingas of the English army, shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahamud Cossin Cawn Bahader, in the management of all affairs; and, in all affairs dependant on him, they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities.

Art. V. In all charges of the Company, and of the said army and provinces for the filled, &c. the lands of Burdwan and Minnapoor, and Chittagaum shall be assigned, and sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted: the Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries; and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

Art. VI. One half of the chunams produced at Siler for three years, shall be purchased

chased by the Gomastah of the Company from the people of the Government, at the customary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of those districts shall receive no injury.

Art. VII. The ballance of the former tuncaw shall be paid according to the kistbundee agreed upon with the Royroyans; the jewels which have been pledged shall be received back again.

Art. VIII. We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to settle in the lands of the English Company; neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircar.

Art. IX. We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sircar in the lands, or in the factories of the Company; neither shall any protection be given to the dependants of the Company in the lands of the Sircar; and whosoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

Art. X. The measures for the war or peace with the Shah Zada, and raising supplies of money, and concluding both these points; shall be

be weighed in the scale of reason, and whatever is judged expedient shall be put in execution; and it shall be so contrived, by the joint Counsellors, that he be removed from this country, nor suffered to get any footing in it: whether there be peace with the Shah Zada or not, our agreements with Meer Mallamud Cawn Bahader, we will (by the Grace of God) inviolably observe, as long as the English-Company factories continue in this country. Dated the 17th of the month Jeffer, in the year 1174 of the Hegira.

(Sign manual of Meer Mahamud Cossin Cawn.) This was sealed on the 18th of the month of Jeffer, in the eleven hundredth and 74th year of the Hegira, and the proposals are agreed to.

THE
O P I N I O N
OF THE
Honourable CHARLES YORKE,
TOUCHING

LORD CLIVE'S JAGHIRE,

Taken by the Court of Directors, and read to
the General Court of Proprietors, held at
Merchant Taylors Hall, on Wednesday the
2d of May, 1764.

THERE are two questions to be considered in this case. The first (in order) is the jurisdiction of the court of Chancery. The second is, upon the merits of the demand. I will consider the merits of the demand in the first place; because if Lord Clive is intitled in justice to the rent issuing out of the lands granted by Meer Jassier to the Company, they will (as they ought) turn Chancellors against themselves, and not think it for their honour that the relief prayed should be denied, merely upon a defect of jurisdiction in the court of Chancery.

And I must own, after considering this question, upon the pleadings and papers laid before me, I have no doubt upon the right of Lord Clive to the rent or Jaghire demanded. The grant of the lands to the Company was made by Meer Jaffier in the year 1757 (out of which the rent was reserved to him, as Nabob of the province.) The rent so reserved was assigned by the Nabob to Lord Clive in 1759. Both grants flowed from the same authority; and therefore in a question between the East India Company, as grantee of the lands from Meer Jaffier, and Lord Clive, as grantee of the rent; it appears to me immaterial to enter into such objections as might be made either by the Mogul, or the successor of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, to the form or substance of those grants. They both claim and derive under the same granter; and the East India Company cannot raise an objection against the grant to Lord Clive, founded on the want of right and power in the Nabob, which will not impeach their own. If Lord Clive, as a servant of the Company, had been bound by covenants, or by laws not to accept any rewards from the Indian princes, or inferior

fove-

sovereigns in the Mogul empire, or from the the Mogul, without licence of the Company or Court of Directors (even for services performed to those princes, not immediately relative to the commerce of the Company), I should have thought that he would have been bound, by such covenants or by-laws, to renounce and relinquish such rewards or advantages; and he might have been liable, in such case, to damages at law, or to an account in a court of equity. But I am of opinion, that the question of right, in this instance, is to be considered, not upon the strict absolute merits (according to the laws and constitution of the Mogul empire), but relatively, as between the East India Company, the grantee of the lands from Meer Jaffier, and Lord Clive the grantee of the same Nabob, of a rent issuing and reserved out of those lands, when granted to the Company. And I am also of opinion, that this question ought to be determined between his Lordship and the Company, upon the same principles as the like question would be determined arising between the owner of lands in England subject to a rent, and the grantee or assignee of

hire, in a case where it is not suggested or pretended, that the servants and receivers of the Company in India are, or yet have been, interrupted in the receipt of these rents; and therefore the bill is brought by Lord Clive in Chancery, in the same manner, and upon the same grounds, and may be entertained by the court upon the same principles, as in every case of a demand by the grantee of a rent or annuity issuing out of lands against the owner of such lands for the arrears and growing payments; which jurisdiction might be exercised between parties resident in England by way of *account*, whether the lands lay in Ireland, or the Plantations, or in any other country. The reason is, because the Defendant in all these cases, so far as the rent or annuity extends, is to be regarded as a trustee, bailiff, or receiver for the plaintiff. And I am of opinion, that this jurisdiction is exercised merely between the parties resident and amenable to the process of the court; that is, it acts *in personam*, not *in rem*; nor is it to be compared with cases of *title*, where the court decrees possession, or title, deeds to be delivered up, or perpetual injunctions to quit possession;

that rent, in a case where both parties derived from the same original granter. As to the question of jurisdiction, I have already said, that I am satisfied, if the Directors and Proprietors see the merits of Lord Clive's demand in the same light in which it strikes me, they will turn Chancellors against themselves. It is for the honour of that great Company to act upon such principles, not only with foreign merchants, trading companies, and foreign states and sovereigns, but with their own servants. I must say, however, that I have no doubt upon the point of *jurisdiction* in Chancery.

That court, as a court of equity, acts by its decrees, not *in rem*, but *in personam*; and therefore if the defendant (the East India Company) against whom an account of the profits of the land is prayed, is amenable to the process and justice of Chancery (as most certainly the Company is), the only question to be considered will be, Whether the relief prayed by the plaintiff is such as can be given by the court against the defendant. Now the relief prayed is merely by way of account of rents and payment of the jag-hire,

hire, in a case where it is not suggested or pretended, that the servants and receivers of the Company in India are, or yet have been, interrupted in the receipt of these rents; and therefore the bill is brought by Lord Clive in Chancery, in the same manner, and upon the same grounds, and may be entertained by the court upon the same principles, as in every case of a demand by the grantee of a rent or annuity issuing out of lands against the owner of such lands for the arrears and growing payments; which jurisdiction might be exercised between parties resident in England by way of *account*, whether the lands lay in Ireland, or the Plantations, or in any other country. The reason is, because the Defendant in all these cases, so far as the rent or annuity extends, is to be regarded as a trustee, bailiff, or receiver for the plaintiff. And I am of opinion, that this jurisdiction is exercised merely between the parties resident and amenable to the process of the court; that is, it acts *in personam*, not *in rem*; nor is it to be compared with cases of *title*, where the court decrees possession, or title, deeds to be delivered up, or perpetual injunctions to quit possession;

or where it directs issues of fact to be tried by juries at common law, upon boundaries, or upon the validity of deeds or wills, in respect of the execution of them, or their validity as instruments. In cases of this latter kind, the court, both by its *interlocutory* and *final* decrees, in some sort gives relief upon the merits of the strict title to the *thing* in question. But the relief prayed by Lord Clive's bill does not involve any such question on consideration.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion with the *plaintiff*, both upon the *merits* and the *jurisdiction*.

C. Y O R K E.

April 28, 1764.

THE
O P I N I O N
O F

Sir FLETCHER NORTON.

I Have always been of opinion from the first reading of this case, that it was most advisable for the defendants to settle this dispute with Lord Clive upon the best terms they could; for I think, both as to the point of jurisdiction, and the question upon the merits, there can be no defence made to the bill; and I intended to have given a full opinion, with my reasons for it, but being called upon for my opinion in haste this morning I have not time to do it.

FLETCHER NORTON. }

Lincoln's Inn, 2d May, 1764.

L O R D C L
P E E

I N

The House of Commons,

30th *March*, 1772,

the MOTION made for Leave to bring in a BILL, for the
Better REGULATION of the AFFAIRS

O F T H E

AST INDIA COMPANY,

A N D O F

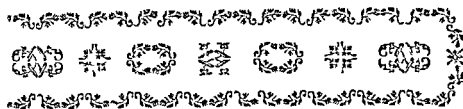
Their SERVANTS in INDIA,

A N D F O R

the due Administration of Justice in BENGAL.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WALTER, at *Charing Cross*



ORD CLIVE'S SPEECH

I N

The HOUSE of COMMONS, &c.

[T is with great diffidence that I attempt to speak to this House, but I find myself so particularly called upon, that I must make the attempt, though I should expose myself in so doing. With what confidence, can I venture to give my sentiments upon a subject of such national consequence, who myself stand charged with having been the cause of the present melancholy situation of th-

retained of my conduct before these Charges were exhibited against me. Nor do I wish to lay my conduct before Members of this House only;—I speak likewise to my Country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance, but with alacrity.

It is well known that I was called upon, in the year 1764, by a General Court, to undertake the management of the Company's affairs in BENGAL, when they were in a very critical and dangerous situation. It is as well known that my Circumstances were independent and affluent. Happy in the sense of my past conduct and services, happy in my family, happy in my connections, happy in every thing but my health, which I lost in the Company's service, never to be regained—This situation, this happiness, I relinquished at a call of the Company, to go to a far distant, unhealthy climate to undertake the envious task of Reformation—My enemies will suppose, that I was actuated by mercenary motives. Be this House, and my Country at large, will, I hope, think more liberally. They will conceive that I undertook this expedition from a principle of gratitude, from a point of honour, and from a desire of doing essential service to the Company, under whose auspices I had acquired my fortune and my fame.

My Prospects on going abroad were by no means pleasing or encouraging; for after a violent contest, thirteen Directors only were chosen, who thought favorably of my endeavours to serve the Company; the other eleven, however well they might wish to the Company, were not willing that

that their good purposes should be accomplished by me they first gave all possible obstruction to my acceptance of the Government, and afterwards declined investing me with those Powers, without which I could not have acted effectually, for the benefit of the Company. Upon my arrival in BENGAL, I found the Powers given were so loosely and ambiguously worded, that they were immediately contested by the Council. I was determined, however, to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my Country.

THREE Paths were before me. One was strewed with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put myself at the head of the Government as I found it. I might have encouraged the Resolution which the Gentlemen had taken, not to execute the new Covenants, which prohibited the receipt of Presents, and although I had executed the Covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to ENGLAND with an immense fortune; infamously added to the one before honourably obtained. Such an increase of wealth might have added to my weight in this Country, but it would not have added to my peace of mind, because all men of honor and sentiment would have justly condemned me.

FINDING my Powers thus disputed, I might in despair have given up the common wealth, and have left BENGAL without making an effort to save it. — Such a Conduct would have been deemed the effect of Folly and Cowardice.

THE third Path was intricate, Dangers and difficulties were on every side, But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined to do my duty to the Public, although I should incur the odium of the whole Settlement. The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution of cleansing the Augean Stable.

It was that Conduct which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me, ever since my return to ENGLAND. It was that Conduct which occasioned these Charges. But it was that Conduct which enables me now, when the day of Judgment is come, to look my Judge in the Face—It was that Conduct which enables me now to lay my hand upon my heart, and most solemnly to declare to this House, to the Gallery, and to the whole World at large, that I never, in a single Instance, lost sight of what I thought the Honor and true Interest of my Country and the Company, that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to Justice can be deemed so, that as to extortion, such an Idea never entered into my mind, that I did not suffer those under me to commit acts of violence, oppression, or extortion, that my influence was never employed for the advantage of an man, contrary to the strictest principles of Honor and Justice and that so far from reaping any benefit myself from the expedition, I returned to ENGLAND many thousand pound out of pocket—A Fact of which this House will presently be convinced.

THE House will, I hope, permit me to lay before them, a
 state of the Charges I have alluded to, as well as of the
 manner in which they were conveyed to me

THE first public Intimation I had of them, was by the fol-
 lowing Letter from the Company's Secretary

" MR LORD,

THE Court of Directors of the EAST INDIA COMPANY,
 having lately received several Papers, containing
 Charges, respecting the Management of the Company's Af-
 fairs in BENGAL, wherein your Lordship is made a Party,
 I am commanded to send to you the enclosed Copies there-
 of, and at the same Time to acquaint your Lordship, that
 if you have any Observations to make thereon, the Court of
 Directors would be glad to receive them as expeditiously as
 may be convenient to your Lordship.

" I am, with great Respect,

" My LORD,

" YOUR LORDSHIP'S

EAST INDIA HOUSE,
 7th Jan 1772.

" Most obedient and

" Most humble Servant,

" P. MICHELL, SECRETARY,"

The Right Hon. Lord CLIVE.

THE Charges I shall briefly state in the following order.

FIRST, a Monopoly of Cotton.—Trade was not my profession. My line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been at the head of an army; and as to Cotton—I know no more about it than the Pope of Rome.

THE second Charge against me is a Monopoly of Diamonds. And this also I shall get rid of in a few words.—There are only two channels by which a servant of the Company can, with propriety, remit his fortune. The one, by paying the money into the treasury in INDIA, and receiving bills upon the Company, payable in ENGLAND; the other by Diamonds.

By the acquisition of the DUANNEE, and the successful endeavours of the Select Committee, the Company's treasury was so rich, that we could not have been justified in drawing bills upon the Company. It was necessary I should, in some mode, remit the amount of my Jaghire. For this purpose, and for this only, I sent an agent into a distant and independent Country, to make purchases of Diamonds. Those Diamonds were not sent home clandestinely; I caused them to be registered; I paid the duties upon them, and these remittances, upon the whole, turn out three per Cent. worse than bills of exchange upon the Company.—This is all I know of a Monopoly of Diamonds.

The third Charge is, "Frauds" in the Exchange and the Gold Coinage.—This is a subject very much out of my sphere; I am totally unacquainted with the proportions of alloy, and the mixture of metals.—All I can speak is the principle upon which we formed the plan of a Gold Coinage.

EVERYBODY knows, that Silver is the only current Coin in BENGAL, and that Gold is merely a species of merchandize. The Select Committee, apprehensive that the prodigious annual drains of Silver to CHINA and other places would soon occasion a scarcity of that metal in BENGAL, considered of means to obviate the bad effect of those exports. We knew that there must be great quantities of Gold in the country, and we hoped to make it circulate as Coin.—Hence the establishment of the Gold Current.

Whether it answered our purpose or not, I cannot say, as it did not remain in BENGAL long enough to experience the effect of it. But this I know, that the assay and mint master, by whose judgment we were guided, was a very able and a very honest man, and has, I understand, given a full and satisfactory explanation of his plan to the Court of Directors.

With regard to myself, I shall only assert, that I did not receive a farthing advantage from it, and that I never sent a single Rupee or Gold Mohur to be coined in my life.

The fourth Charge has this extraordinary title.—A Monopoly of Salt, Bebe Nut, and Tobacco, and other commodities, which occasioned the late famine.—How a Monopoly

'Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco, in the years 1765 and 1766, would occasion a want of *Rair*, and scarcity of *Rice* in the year 1770, is past my comprehension I confess I cannot answer that part of this article. And as to *other Commodities*, they have not been specified, I cannot say any thing to them — But with regard to the Monopoly (as it is called) of Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco, I will endeavour to explain the whole of that matter, and the House will permit me to dwell the longer upon it, as it is a point particularly insisted on by my adversaries. It is a part of my conduct that may be objected to by those who are unacquainted with the subject. I know it has been misunderstood and misrepresented, even by some of my friends. They have imputed it to an error of judgment. Now however ready I shall always be to acknowledge such an error, yet I hope to convince this House, that no part of my conduct has been more unexceptionable, and that the plan, if it had been adopted by the Court of Directors, and strictly adhered to by the Government in BENGAL, would have proved not only advantageous to the Company, but also beneficial to the Country. But the Court of Directors, alarmed at the word Monopoly, seem never to have examined, and I am sure, never thoroughly comprehended, the principles and effect of it.

MANY years ago an expensive embassy was sent to DELHI, to obtain certain grants and privileges from the GREAT MÖGÜL, in favour of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and amongst others was obtained the privilege of trading Duty free. The servants were indulged with this privilege, under the sanction

of the Company's Name.—The Company never carried on any Inland Trade. Their Commerce has been confined to Exports and Imports only. It is impossible that the servants should have a more extensive right than the Company itself ever had. Yet they claimed a privilege of carrying on an Inland Trade, Duty free.—The absurdity of a privilege so ruinous to the natives, and so prejudicial to the revenues of the country, is obvious. At the Revolution in 1757 no such claim was set up, nor was any such Trade carried on publicly, or to my knowledge, during my government, which ended in the beginning of the year 1760. The first appearance of this claim was in Governor VANSITTART's time.—The Nabob COSSIM ALY CAWN, strongly objected to it: representing to the Governor, and Council, the fatal Consequences to the Black Merchants and to the Revenues of his Country. Mr. VANSITTART was sensible of the justice of the Nabob's Complaints, and soon after entered into articles of agreement, that the ENGLISH should carry on an Inland Trade in Salt, paying a Duty of nine per Cent. which in fact was no remedy to the evil, because the natives paid infinitely more. The Council disavowed this act of Mr. VANSITTART, and insisted upon their right to all Inland Trade, Duty free.—The Nabob, enraged, threw open the Trade throughout his country, and abolished all Duties, in order that his own subjects might trade upon an equal footing with the ENGLISH. This on the other hand disobliterated the Council, who insisted that the Nabob should not suffer even his own subjects to trade Duty free, but that the ENGLISH alone should enjoy that privilege. These transactions were not clearly known

the Court of Directors till the year 1762: when they dis-
 approved of them in the strongest terms, positively forbid-
 ding their servants to carry on any Inland Trade whatsoever,
 it was nevertheless continued, and with exemption from
 Duties, except in the article of *Salt*: upon which a Duty of
 two and a half *per Cent.* only was agreed to be paid, by a
 treaty with the Nabob MEER JAFFIER, after the deposition of
 COSSIM ALY CAWN.

ALTHOUGH the Court of Directors had been of opinion
 that the Inland Trade ought to be totally abolished; they, as
 well as the Proprietors, thought the Company's servants might
 be indulged in it, under certain restrictions and regulations.

In consequence of this idea, the General Court, on the 18th
 of May, 1764, came to the following Resolution:

"RESOLVED, That it be recommended to the Court of
 Directors, to re-consider the orders sent to BENGAL, rela-
 tive to the Trade of the Company's servants, in the articles
 of *Salt, Beile Nut, and Tobacco*; and that they do give such
 directions for regulating the same, agreeably to the interest
 of the Company and Subah, as to them may appear most
 prudent: either by settling here at home the restrictions
 under which this Trade ought to be carried on; or by re-
 ferring it to the Governor and Council of FORT WILLIAM
 to regulate this important point, in such a manner as may
 prevent all future disputes betwixt the Subah and the
 Company."

THESE RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED BY THE GENERAL COURT OF THE COMPANY, ON THE 18TH OF MAY, 1764.

This Resolution was supported by the Court of Directors, who in their general letter to the Governor and Council, dated 9th of June, 1764, at the time I went out to INDIA, issued the following Orders:

“For the reasons given in our letter of the 8th of February last, we were then induced to send positive orders to put a final and effectual end to the Inland Trade in Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country: to the remarks we made in that letter, we must add one observation, which is, it appears very extraordinary, that in a Trade so extremely lucrative to individuals, — the interest of the Company should not have been at all attended to, or considered.”

“Those orders were sent, it is true, before we received the new treaty you entered into with MEER JAFFIER ALY CAWN, upon his re-establishment in the Subahship, in which it is agreed, that the ENGLISH shall carry on their Trade, by means of their own *Dustick*, free from all Duties, Taxes, and Impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of Salt; on which a Duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied, on the Rowanna or Houghly Market Price; wherein it is further agreed, that the late *Perwanahs* issued by COSSIM ALY CAWN, granting to all merchants the exemption of all Duties, for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the Duties collected as before.”

56. These

“THESE are terms which appear to be so very injurious to the Nabob and to the Natives, that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart burnings and dissatisfaction, and consequently, there can be little reason to expect the tranquility of the country can be permanent the orders therefore, in your said letter, of the 8th of February, are to remain in force, *until a more equitable and satisfactory Plan can be formed, and adopted*, which as it is impossible for us to, frame here, destitute as we are of the information and lights necessary to guide us in settling such an important affair—

“You are therefore hereby ordered and directed, as soon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the Inland Trade, in Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco, and the other articles produced and consumed in the country, which may be, most, to his satisfaction and advantage, *the interest of the Company, and likewise of the Company's servants.*

“You are thereupon to form a proper and equitable Plan for carrying on the said Trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations, observations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon in a full and explicit manner.”

“In doing this, as before observed, you are to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of

the Nabob, both with respect to his revenues, and the proper support of his government: in short, this Plan must

be settled with his free will and consent, and in such manner, as not to afford any just grounds for complaint.

60. In the next place, the utmost care and attention must

be bestowed in forming the said Plan, that in some proper mode or shape, a just and equitable consideration be secured for

the Company.

61. If any inconveniences shall be apprehended to arise

to the Company's investments, upon carrying on such an

Inland Trade; you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

62. You are to give your impartial and unbiassed thoughts

also, whether the carrying on this Inland Trade, may affect

the just rights and privileges of the French, Dutch, or

any other EUROPEANS, and thereby tend to draw on any

national altercations and embroils, which are by all means

to be avoided: in forming the said Plan, therefore, you

are to be particularly careful, to prevent these or any other

evils of the like kind.

NOTWITHSTANDING these authorities, it has been asserted

that the Select Committee in BENGAL, when they framed

a Plan for carrying on the Trade in Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco, acted in disobedience to the orders of the Com-

pany. And to support this assertion, several extracts have

been produced of some of the Company's letters, which were

in fact written in answer to those proceedings of former administrations in **BENGAL**, of which I have already given some description.

When the Select Committee assembled in **BENGAL**, they were determined upon a thorough reformation. They were determined at all events to do their Duty.

It is necessary the House should know, that there are but two ways by which Gentlemen can acquire fortunes in **BENGAL**—by the Inland Trade, and by Presents. The Export and Import Trade had been for some years dwindling away, and was not worth the attention of the servants. It was carried on chiefly by free merchants and free mariners,—and they could scarcely live by it. The Inland Trade was, as I have shewn, permitted to be carried on upon some equitable Plan, for the benefit of the Company, who had hitherto received no advantage from it; and likewise for the benefit of the Company's servants, who hitherto had swallowed up the whole.

With regard to the receipt of Presents:—that mode of raising a fortune was intended to be prevented by the new Covenants. But we must consider a little the nature of the funds for Presents. Every revolution in **BENGAL** was attended with some diminution of the Nabob's authority, and with some advantages to the Company. **COSSIM ALY CAWN**, upon the deposition of **MEER JAFFIER**, was obliged to make over to the Company, territorial possessions to the amount of between six and seven hundred thousand pounds per annum.

MEER JAFFIER, when he was reinstated in the Subahship, added above sixty thousand pounds a month more, for the support of our army *during the war* so that the Company became possessed of one half of the Nabob's revenues — The Nabob was allowed to collect the other half for himself. But in fact, he was no more than a Banker for the Company's servants, who could draw upon him as often, and to what amount they pleased.

THE new Covenants indeed, which prohibited the receipt of Presents, were intended to prevent this mode of raising Fortunes, but the Select Committee went much deeper they struck at the root of the evil, by procuring the whole for the Company, which totally deprived the servants of this resource.

It was not expedient, however, to draw the reins too tight. It was not expedient, that the Company's servants should pass from affluence to beggary. It was necessary, that some emoluments should accrue to the servants in general, and more especially to those in superior station, who were to assist in carrying on the measures of Government. The salary of a Councillor is, I think, scarcely three hundred pounds *per annum* and it is well known that he cannot live in that Country for less than three thousand pounds. The same proportion holds among the other servants. It was requisite therefore, that an Establishment should take place and the Select Committee, after the most mature deliberation, judged, that the Trade in Salt, Betle Nut and Tobacco, under proper regulations, might effectually answer the Purpose. The great object

ject of our consideration was, whether this Trade could be regulated for the advantage of the Company, and also for the Company's servants; without oppressing the Natives. We thought it could. The House will observe, that I make no mention of the *Nabob*; because the Company, to whom the Revenues now belonged, stood in his shoes; a circumstance which seems never to have been thoroughly adverted to by the Directors, even to this day.

HAD we only formed our Plan and deferred the execution of it, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known, all the Gentlemen in their service must in the mean time have been totally unprovided for. But the declared intention of the Company was, that the Trade in Salt, Betelnut and Tobacco, should be regulated:—not only for their own advantage, but for the advantage of their servants. A Plan was accordingly framed. I was up the Country at the time, employed in settling the treaty of Peace with *SUJA UL DOWLA*, and obtaining from the *Mogul*, the grant of the *DUANNEE*. The Plan was framed principally by Mr. SUMNER, who took the medium price of Salt, throughout the Country, for above twenty years past; and fixed the price at from twelve to fifteen *per Cent.* below that medium. Hence it was not probable, that any grievance should fall upon the Poor: and the Plan was settled for one year only, that we might have an early opportunity of completing afterwards what was originally intended as an experiment. A duty, however, of thirty-five *per Cent.* upon Salt was established for the Company, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per Annum*: and all the Company's servants

A . . . except Writers, and also all the field officers of the army had shares, according to their respective rank. But I soon found there were some defects in this plan. It was really a Monopoly. The trade was taken out of the hands of some of the merchants. The proportion to the Company's servants was too large; the Duty to the Company was too small; the Agents, appointed to sell the Salt had made an improper use of their power; they had not strictly kept up to their contract, which was, that they should receive five per Cent. upon the Sale of Salt, as a recompence for their trouble, and that they should not enter into any trade for themselves under a very severe penalty.

I therefore proposed a Plan for the next year, which I think destroyed every idea of Monopoly. The Society instead of employing agents up the country to dispose of the Salt, were to sell it at CALCUTTA, and at the places where it was made, to the Black Merchants only who were each limited to a certain quantity of purchase, and tied down to a price for sale at every Market Town. The Duty to the Company was now established at fifty per Cent. which would produce one hundred and sixty thousand pounds per Annum. The Black Merchants were to have the liberty of transporting the Salt all over the Country, free from every taxation or obstruction, and the strictest orders were issued, that no Englishmen, or their agents, should directly or indirectly have any farther concern in it.

With regard to the price, I must inform the House, that BENGAL Salt stands the maker in about two shillings and

102
six-pence per Maund, by the time it reaches CALCUTTA. A Maund is eighty pounds. The Duty to the Company, and the advantages to the servants, were stated at about two shillings and six-pence more, which makes upon the whole one hundred per Cent. Salt in ENGLAND, I am told, stands the maker in about eight-pence per Bushel, or fifty-six pounds, and the Duty is three shillings and four-pence per Bushel, which is five hundred per Cent. I have enquired into the Salt Trade in ENGLAND. I think we settled it upon rather a better footing in INDIA; for the quantity to be bought by any one dealer was fixed; and the price at which it was to be sold in every town throughout the kingdom, according to the distance from the Salt Pans, was also fixed.

In LONDON, Salt is sold at five shillings a Bushel; which is somewhat less than a penny a pound. In INDIA, Salt is sold by the Maund, which is, as I have said, eighty pounds: and it comes to a Rupee, or two shillings and six-pence a Maund, all expenses paid, exclusive of the Duty. The Duty, as I have informed the House, is two shillings and six-pence more.

Now I will suppose that Salt, in BENGAL, sold under the second year's Plan, at the very price fix'd by the first year's Plan: then it would stand the consumer in about three farthings a pound at CALCUTTA; a penny a pound at distant places; and five farthings a pound at PATNA, which is one of the most distant parts, being about twelve hundred miles by water from CALCUTTA.

With regard to the price of Sugar, the Bengal Salt stands the maker in about two shillings and six-pence

THE whole quantity of Salt contracted for by the Society was twenty four lacks of Maunds which multiplied by eighty for the number of pounds in a Maund, make one hundred and ninety two millions of pounds. The number of inhabitants I shall take upon the honourable Member's computation, that is to say, fifteen millions. I strike off five millions for infants and accidents. Then divide the one hundred and ninety two millions of pounds by the other ten millions of inhabitants, and we shall find the quantity of Salt consumed in one year, by the rich and by the poor, will be under twenty pounds each. To give the argument its utmost scope, I allow twenty pounds to the poor as well as to the rich man, although it is certain he does not consume half the quantity. These twenty pounds will cost the individual at CALCUTTA rather less than fifteen pence, in the center of the Provinces, twenty pence, and at PATNA, the greatest distance, rather less than two shillings and six pence— This is the utmost of every man's expence in a year for Salt—

THE lowest wages in BENGAL are two Rupees a month, which is twenty four Rupees, or three pounds *per Annum*. The poor can scarcely be said to be at any other expence than for eating. They drink nothing but water,—they wear no clothes,—the houses are built with mud or clay, thatched with straw. Now I leave the House to judge, whether the expence of, from fifteen pence to two shillings and six pence a year for twenty pounds of Salt, even to these the very poorest

most of the inhabitants, can be a grievance. The eyes of the world have been blinded by publications. The matter of it is this: the grievance fell upon a number of Black Merchants, who used to live by that Trade for the Company's servants not only monopolized the Salt, but, by virtue of their influence and power, bought it at what price they pleased, and sold it at what price they pleased —

To indulge my enemies to the utmost, I will allow for a moment, although it is not so, that in the intermediate time, between the farming of the Salt Trade by a Mussulman (for it was always a Monopoly in the hands of COJA WAZEED, or some person or persons who paid large sums of money to the Nabob or his ministers for the exclusive privilege) and the regulations established by the Select Committee, Salt was sold somewhat cheaper. What does that infer? It infers only this, that the Company's servants, by virtue of their power and authority, exonerated the Salt of all those Duties and Exactions which it was formerly subject to, amounting perhaps to two hundred *per Cent* and then made a merit of selling it cheaper to the inhabitants,—as if a set of men in this country, by their power and influence, were to decline paying the duty of five hundred *per Cent* to Government, and then boast of selling it at a lower price than had been usual. In fact, when the Salt was what has been called an open Trade, it was then the most monopolized, because the Company's servants traded in it to what extent and advantage they thought proper,—as indeed they did in every other article of Inland Trade.

In short, the Select Committee established their Plan upon Experience and a thorough knowledge of the Company's Interest: and the conduct of the Court of Directors, in rejecting it, was founded upon obstinacy and ignorance.

A short history of the conduct of these Gentlemen will set the matter in its proper light.

I have said before, that the Directors disapproved of the Trade in Salt, Beetle-nut, and Tobacco, carried on by the servants, from the first moment that they became acquainted with it. They positively and repeatedly ordered, that they should have no concern in it, directly or indirectly; they declared that it was an infringement of the rights of the natives; that they had consulted the Sages in the law, and that the servants were liable to prosecution for persevering in that illicit Trade. After this, they agreed that the Select Committee should regulate this Trade, in such a manner as might be advantageous to the Company and their servants, without injury to the Nabob. The Committee did regulate it, a very large profit was established for the Company: the servants, also, were amply provided for: and no oppression (under the Committee's regulation) could possibly fall upon the people of the country. The Court of Directors disapproved of our Plan, and did not substitute any other in the room of it: neither did they establish any Duties. They issued orders, that their servants, who acted as Sovereigns, should totally relinquish this Trade themselves, and endeavour to prevent its being monopolized by any rich overgrown merchant.

merchant of the country, they meant that it should be laid open to the natives and to them only, not seeing that their orders could not extend to the servants of foreign Companies, who would of course gain considerably by that Trade, of which the ENGLISH were to be deprived

In November 1767, and not before, the Court of Directors came to a Determination of allowing their servants, in lieu of this Trade, two and a half *per Cent* upon the Revenues, they then also, for the first Time, thought of establishing a Duty upon Salt they proposed fixing it so as that it should produce to the Company *thirty one thousand pounds per Annum* At this time I was in *ENGLAND* I heard accidentally, what was in agitation I expostulated with the Court of Directors by letter, I represented to them that they were doing the most manifest injury to the Company; that if those advantages which the Select Committee had proposed for the servants were disapproved of, they ought to be enjoyed by the Company, that those advantages and the Duties together would amount to *three hundred thousand pounds per Annum*, which I thought no inconsiderable object I farther represented to them, that although they should give the servants two and a half *per Cent* on the Revenues, in lieu of the Salt Trade, the Gentlemen might still trade in that article, under the names of their Banyans or Black Agents, to what extent they pleased To these representations they paid no other attention than that of altering the proposed Duty from thirty one thousand pounds to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per Annum* What was the consequence? The servants received the two and a half

on the Revenues; they traded in Salt as much, as ever, without paying the Duty, and I am well informed that Company, from the time of the abolition of the Plan to this hour, have not received a shilling Duty. Finally, the Court of Directors, suffered this Branch of Trade to revert to the very channel from whence had flowed those abuses and all those misfortunes which they had loudly complained of. This Trade, contrary to their ideas of equity to the natives, and contrary to the advice of the Sages of the law, is now laid open to the ENGLISH and to every EUROPEAN, as well as native inhabitant of BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA. The consequences of this we are still to learn. As the case stands at present, the Court of Directors have, in all this time (five years) given up no less than one million five hundred thousand pounds, which the Company ought to have received, if the emoluments taken from the servants had been added to the Duty proposed to the Select Committee. And in this sum is not included the two and a half per Cent commission granted out of the revenues.

HAVING thus stated every thing material, relative to this matter, I submit to the consideration of the House whether the Plan adopted by the Committee was for the benefit of the Company, or not. The House will observe, that I have spoken of the Salt Trade only, I omit mentioning the Beetle Nut and Tobacco Trade, because the former is not an advantageous article, in comparison with the Salt Trade and the latter, although a part of the Plan of the Committee, was totally relinquished.

Company disapproved of the Plan of the Society, and was issued during my Government for abolishing it.

I must in this place beg leave to inform the House, as Governor, had a proportion of advantage in this Trade. What that proportion was, and in what manner I disposed of it, shall be clearly and accurately stated before I go down.

I shall now proceed to the next Charge against me, which is, Peculation of Revenues. And here I must have recourse to a minute of mine, which stands recorded in the House, because I think it will explain this matter much more fully than I can do by word of mouth, and the House will see in that Minute, the ground work of part of the Bill proposed to be brought in for the Regulation of the Company's Affairs abroad.

Lord Clive's Minute.
 Our attention as a Select Committee, invested with extraordinary powers by the Court of Directors, has been constantly engaged in reforming the abuses which had crept into the several departments of this Government. The important work has been steadily prosecuted with zeal, diligence, and disinterestedness on our parts, and the success of our labor gives us reason to hope, that our Employers will be of opinion we have established many useful and necessary regulations. Many others however are still wanting.

wanting, to complete our Plan; but I doubt not that the same principles, which have hitherto guided our conduct will continue to direct and justify the measures we have yet to pursue.

"To place the President in such a situation, as will render his Government honorable to himself and advantageous to the Company, appears to me an object of as much consequence as any that has been taken into our consideration. Where such immense Revenues are concerned, where power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and equity should be ever watchful, a Governor ought not to be embarrassed with private business; he ought to be free from every occupation, in which his judgment can possibly be biassed by his interest. The extensive commercial affairs, the study of the finances, the politics of the country, the epistolary correspondence, the proceedings of Council and Committee; these are sufficient to employ every moment of his time, and I am confident they cannot be conducted with the requisite attention to the Company's interest, if the mind of the Governor be diverted by complicated mercantile affairs of his own.

"I now look back on those unhappy dissensions which have frequently brought the Company's possessions in Bengal almost to the point of destruction, we shall find that they have generally proceeded from the conduct of Governors, who, too eager in the pursuit of private interest, have involved themselves in affairs which could not be reconciled to the strict principles of integrity. To prevent

"scrutinies

"scrutinies and discoveries, which, might in any degree, affect
 "their honor; they have frequently been reduced to a
 "necessity of conniving at abuses, which would otherwise
 "have been brought to light, and remedied. The welfare
 "of this great Company should be the sole study of a Govern-
 "or; attached to that point alone, his measures could never
 "be thwarted by the malice of opposition, because the
 "would all be proposed for the public good; and action
 "will always be justified or condemned, from the principle
 "on which they are founded.
 "Such a state of independency and honor must be high-
 "ly eligible to a Governor; and in my opinion it can only be
 "acquired by cutting off all possibility of his benefiting himself
 "either by Trade, or by that Influence which his power
 "necessarily gives him in these opulent provinces.
 "I therefore propose, that the Governor shall in the most
 "public manner, in the presence of all the Company's ser-
 "vants, the Mayor and Aldermen, and Free Merchants, assem-
 "bled at the Mayor's Court, take the Oath and execute the
 "Penalty Bond annexed.
 "The consideration I have proposed is, one and one-eighth
 "per Cent. upon the Revenues, excepting those arising from
 "the Company's own lands at CALCUTTA, BORDWAN, MID-
 "NAPORE and CHITTAGONG. The consideration could be obtained
 "ALTHOUGH by these means a Governor will not be able
 "to amass a fortune of a million, or half a million; in the

space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handsome independency, and be in that very situation which a man of nice honor and true zeal for the service would wish to possess. Thus situated he may defy all opposition in Council: he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose, but what he means for the advantage of his employers; he may defy the law, because there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery; and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short, if stability can be insured to such a Government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a small space of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capacities: it must be effected by a Governor thus restricted, and I shall think it an honor, if my Proposal be approved, to set the first example.

In the Bond herein mentioned, and which I executed, was inserted a penalty of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds: fifty thousand of which was to go to the Informer, and one hundred thousand to the Company, if the Governor should be convicted of having benefited himself, directly or indirectly, beyond that commission. In addition to this was an oath, to the same purport, and of as solemn a nature as could be devised. There were a few necessary exceptions, in the bond and in the Oath. The common Interest for money was permitted to be received, till Remittances could be obtained. The purchase of Diamonds for remittance to ENGLAND was allowed, and such Presents as might be received under the

new

new Covenants, were also allowed. But of this last except I did not avail myself; for after I had executed the Be- every the most trifling Present, even to the value of six-pen was brought to the Company's credit.

A Circumstance of Allegation, against me, is brought fr a Letter I wrote to the Court of Directors, before I w abroad, in which I had expressed my disapprobation, of a Commission of two and a half per Cent, that had been gra ed to Governor VANSITTART, on the Company's territorial P- Vessions, notwithstanding which I had received a Commission of one and one-eighth myself. The case was this. The Co- of Directors did not think proper to restrain Mr. VANSI TART in any respect, or degree. He executed no Penalty, Bon- He took no restrictive Oath. He had unlimited liberty to receive Presents; to trade to any amount; and he had the Commission of two and a half per Cent, on the Company's territorial Possessions into the bargain; in short, he was o- liberty to make what Fortune he pleased. Now the Commissio of one and one-eighth per Cent, which I received, was an Est- blishment proposed not only for myself, but for all future Governors in lieu of every thing, in consequence of giving up every emolument whatsoever that might be made in that station. The Court of Directors so far, from disapproving of this Commission, continued it to my successor.

ANOTHER Charge is, that I took to myself these advantages arising from the Salt Trade, and the one and one-eighth Commission, although I had declared in the Letter which I have just alluded to, that I had no interested motives in ac- to the fact, and in my mind of what I was accepting.

cepting the Government. With what justice this can be al-
 leged against me, the House may immediately determine.

I carried out three Gentlemen with me. These Gentlemen
 I certainly meant to serve; but I meant to serve them in
 a way that should be honourable for themselves, and, ho-
 nourable for me; and that should at the same time be con-
 sistent with the interest of the Company. One was Mr.
 MASKELYNE, a relation of mine. A friendship commenced
 between us in our early years. We began life together. We
 were both of us writers in the Company's service in the year
 1745; we were both made prisoners in MADRASS when it
 was taken by Monsieur LA BOURDENAI; we made our escape
 together; we then entered into the military service together
 as ensigns; we served together at the siege of PONDICHERY;
 we went into the field together; but our fates were very
 different; he was a second time taken prisoner; this mis-
 fortune put a stop to all his prospects, whilst I went on in
 a career of success. He continued in the civil and military
 service till he was of the rank of Council, and, after fifteen
 years service in INDIA, was obliged by ill health to return to
 his native country, not worth three thousand pounds in the
 world. I thought him intitled to some share of my affluence,
 but what I did for him was not sufficient to make his cir-
 cumstances perfectly independent: for these reasons I took
 him with me on my last expedition. Another Gentleman was
 my Secretary, now a Member of this House. He was recom-
 mended to me by one of the greatest men in this kingdom,
 now no more, Mr. GRENVILLE. Many and great are the
 obligations I have been under to him, but the greatest of all

the obligations was, his having recommended to me this Gentleman: without his abilities and indefatigable industry, could never have gone through my great and arduous undertaking, and in serving me he served the Company. The third Gentleman was Mr. INGHAM, a Surgeon, who quitted a profession of some hundreds a year, to accompany me to BENGAL.

I stood in a particular point of view; my situation was nice and critical; the eyes of the whole settlement were upon me. It was difficult for me to take any steps with regard to those Gentlemen without being condemned. They had executed no Covenants; I might have suffered them to receive Presents to any amount: the world would then have said, that I carried them out with me in order to evade my own Covenants, and to receive Presents for me, as well for themselves. I might have granted them the privilege of Trade; the advantages of which, under my favor and credit might have been to any amount. The objection to this was obvious; it would have been said that my own interest was at the bottom; that they traded under my influence; and that the extent of their concerns interfered with persons who had a better right. It was therefore determined that they should not benefit themselves a farthing; but by what they should receive from my hands.

My share, as Governor, in the Salt Society, and also, in a manner in which it was disposed of, were publicly known both here and abroad before my return to ENGLAND; and yet this matter has of late been considered as something clandestine.

destine, But I, think I can prove to the satisfaction of this House, that it was known to every body. In the beginning of the year 1767, a General Court, was called for, the purpose of rewarding my services. A continuation of ten years of the Jaghire, was proposed. In opposition to this, some people urged, that I was benefiting myself largely abroad. A friend of mine, an honorable member of this House, hereupon read to the Court an extract of a letter he had received from me upon that subject. Before the question was ballotted for, he printed this letter in handbills, and also published it repeatedly in all the News Papers. I have one of them, which was printed at that time, now, in my hand, and with permission will read it.

"THAT his Lordship has been adding to his fortune, as broad, as most untrue. his friends defy the bitterest of his enemies to support the charge. A solemn asseveration, in that respect, from Lord CLIVE, himself was read, in Court, by the friend to whom Lord CLIVE had addressed his letter, and it is now submitted to print, in order to discredit assertions which are false, or else to remain in public testimony against his Lordship."

Extract of a Letter from Lord CLIVE, dated Calcutta, 30th September, 1765,

"That you may assert with confidence the justice of my cause, I do declare, by the God who made me, it is my absolute determination to refuse every Present of consequence, and

band that I will not return to ENGLAND with one Rupee more than what arises from my Jaghîr. My profits arising from Salt shall be divided among those friends who have endangered their lives and constitutions in attending me. The congratulatory Nuzirs, &c. shall be set opposite to my extraordinary expences; and if aught remains, it shall go to POPULAR or some other Hospital.

Mr. BOLTS's book is a copy of a Bond, by which it appears that I sold my concern in Salt, for thirty-two thousand pounds. I do acknowledge there is such a Bond, but the sum actually received by me, on that account, amounted only to about ten thousand eight hundred pounds. The fact is this: I could not think of suffering the three before-mentioned gentlemen, who had accompanied me to INDIA, to return to ENGLAND without realizing something on their account; I said so to my friends in BENGAL. The Salt Concern was of a very extensive, tedious nature, and the accounts might not be made up in some years. Could I, in honor, have those Gentlemen in a situation, which made it doubtful when they should receive any thing, and to what amount? I told them I would not: I told them I would get rid of this Salt Concern at once, that they might be secure of the money amongst them. I therefore disposed of my whole concern in Salt, even my share for the second year, which was just commenced, for the sum mentioned in the Bond. It was then the mode of a Commission of one and one-eighth Cent. on the Revenues, was settled for the Governor, in lieu of every other emolument; I then relinquished my share in Salt for that year (the second year) in which I was to receive

receive the Commission, and paid back about twenty thousand pounds of the thirty-two thousand. It now remains, Sir, for me to shew, that my own interest was not the motive of my going to India.

I have here an account of every six-pence I received or disbursed, from the day of my leaving ENGLAND to the day of my return. It is taken from my books, which were kept all the time I was in INDIA by Mr. VERELST, who will readily attest their accuracy. I omit the first part of this account, because it was transmitted to the Court of Directors, and stands upon record in the INDIA HOUSE. The other part I will read. The House will observe, that in this account there are the names of others whom I rewarded, besides the Gentlemen I have mentioned. One was an old servant who went out with me, and the others were young Gentlemen.

Amount paid subsequent to the making up of
the Account before mentioned, transmitted
to the Court of Directors, viz:

Account Salaries	—	—	268	19	2
Charges General	—	—	1395	9	2
Table Expenses	—	—	1087	6	4
Wearing Apparel	—	—	103	19	5
				2795	14 6

Amount of Expenses paid in England ————— 1846 5 7

HENRY STRACHEY, Esq;

transferred to him the Amount }
of Mr. Sykes's Bond — 7714 5 8
Interest thereon — 471 8 6
————— 8185 14 2
A Proportion of Mr. Kellfall's Bond with }
Interest — 1274 13 5
The Amount of a Bill on Attornies in }
England — 2892 17 1
A Proportion of the Commission on the }
Revenues — 3589 12 3
————— 15942 16 11

EDMUND MASKELYNE, Esq;

transferred to him the Amount }
of Mr. Verell's Bond — 7714 5 8
Interest thereon — 471 8 6
————— 8185 14 2
The Amount of Mr. Ruf- }
fel's Bond — 3857 2 10
Interest thereon — 235 14 3
————— 4092 17 1
A Proportion of Mr. Kellfall's Bond with }
Interest — 771 8 6
————— 13042 19

SAMUEL INGHAM, Esq;

transferred to him the Amount }
of Mr. Campbell's Bond — 7714 5 8
Interest thereon — 471 8 6
————— 8185 14 2
A Proportion of Commission on the Re- }
venues — 976 5 8
————— 9161 19 2

Mr. PHILPOT.

Transferred to him the Remain- }
der of Mr. Kellfall's Bond — 1928 9 6
Interest thereon — 112 5 7
————— 2046 15 1
Presented to him an additional Sum — 150 0 0
————— 2196 15 1

Messrs. WYKEZ, ARCHER, COXZ,
and DUCAREL.

Transferred to them a Proportion of Commission

THE balance against me, upon the whole, is five thousand eight hundred and sixteen pounds. Now, Sir, I have objection to having this account lodged among the Records of this House, that it may stand in judgment for or against me, if future Commissioners, either on the part of the Crown or the EAST INDIA COMPANY, should ever think a retrospect into my conduct necessary.

THERE is only one circumstance more with which I trouble the House, and I do assure them, I should be ashamed to touch upon it, as it may carry with it an appearance of vanity, were not my honor and reputation so much at stake. It was in my power to have taken from my enemies every shadow of pretence for arraigning my conduct, on account of these profits, as they have been called, of my government. I could have rewarded those Gentlemen much more liberally without the possibility of an accusation. But I should not have acted so much to my own satisfaction, nor I believe so much to that of the House, if I had neglected the opportunity that offered, of doing something essentially beneficial to the EAST INDIA COMPANY'S service.

THE old Nabob MEER JAFFIER, if ever Muzulman had a friendship for a Christian, had a friendship for me. When the news of my appointment to the Government of BENGAL, he immediately quitted MUXADAVAD, came down to CALCUTTA, impatiently waited my arrival for six weeks, fell ill, returned to his capital, and died Two or three days before his death, in the presence of his wife, and in the presence

nce of his minister, he said to his son and successor,
 ever you may think proper to give to Lord Clive on
 own account the means are in your power. But
 testimony of my affection for him, I desire you will
 to him as a legacy from me five lacks of Rupees. I
 observe that the Nabob's death happened whilst I was
 my voyage, and some months before my arrival in Bengal.
 .. The principal and interest amounted to near seventy
 thousand pounds. A very respectable Gentleman and great
 vyer, who is now the Speaker of this honourable House,
 his opinion in favor of my right to this legacy, in the
 ingest terms; another great Lawyer, a Member of this
 use, has often declared to me in private, his opinion of
 right; and the Court of Directors have themselves con-
 firmed that right. Authentic attestations of this legacy are
 in record in the India House. The whole of the money
 led to about forty thousand pounds more, which I pre-
 sented on the Nabob to bestow, is established for a Military
 fund, in support of Officers and Soldiers who may be in-
 vided in any part of India, and also in support of their
 widows. Nothing was wanting but such an Establishment
 this, to make the EAST INDIA COMPANY'S Military Service
 the best Service in the world. Before that period, an indi-
 vidually, an Officer and Soldier might live in India, but
 he returned to his native Country, he returned to Beg-
 gary. By this fund the Officers are entitled to Half-pay,
 the Soldiers are upon the same footing as those in the
 Hospital; and the Widows of both Officers and Sol-
 diers have Pensions.

I HAVING encroached so long upon the patience of the House, I doubt whether I may now expect their farther indulgence, or whether I must defer what I have to say to the important business till a future occasion.

(HOUSE, Go on, go on)

BUT before I proceed, I must beg leave to deviate a little into a digression, on behalf of the Company's servants in general. It is dictated by humanity, by justice, and by truth.

INDOSTAN was always an absolute despotic Government. The inhabitants, especially of BENGAL, in inferior stations are servile, mean, submissive and humble. In superior stations they are luxurious, effeminate, tyrannical, treacherous, and cruel. The Country of BENGAL is called, by way of distinction, the Paradise of the Earth. It not only abounds with the necessaries of life to such a degree, as to furnish a great part of INDIA with its superfluity, but it abounds with very curious and valuable manufactures, sufficient not only for its own use, but for the use of the whole Globe. The Silver of the West and the Gold of the East have for many years been pouring into that Country, and Goods only have been sent out in return. This has added to the luxury and extravagance of BENGAL.

FROM time immemorial it has been the custom of this Country, for an inferior never to come into the presence of a superior without a Present. It begins at the Nabob.

ids at the lowest man that has an inferior. The Nábob is told me, that the small Presents he received amounted to three hundred thousand pounds a year; and I can believe him; because I know that I might have received as much during my last Government. The Company's servants have ever been accustomed to receive Presents. Even before we took part in the Country troubles, when our possessions were very confined and limited, the Governor and others used to receive Presents; and I will take upon me to assert, that there has not been an Officer commanding his Majesty's Fleet, nor an Officer commanding his Majesty's Army; not a Governor, not a Member of Council, not any other Person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the Country Government, who has not received Presents. With regard to BENGAL, there they flow in abundance indeed. Let the House figure to itself a Country consisting of fifteen millions of inhabitants, a Revenue of four millions Sterling, and a Trade in proportion. By progressive steps the Company have become Sovereigns of that Empire. Can it be supposed that their servants will refrain from advantages so obviously resulting from their situation? The Company's servants, however, have not been the authors of those acts of violence and oppression, of which it is the fashion to accuse them. Such crimes are committed by the natives of the Country, acting as their Agents; and for the most part without their knowledge. Those Agents, and the Banyans, never desist, till, according to the ministerial phrase, they have dragged their Masters into the kennel; and then the acts of violence begin. The passion for Gain is as strong as the passion of Love. I will suppose, that two intimate friends have

lived long together, that one of them has married a beautiful woman, that the friend still continues to live in the House and that this beautiful woman, forgetting her duty to her husband, attempts to seduce the friend, who, though in the vigor of his youth, may, from a high principle of honor at first, resist the temptation, and even rebuke the lady. But if he still continues to live under the same roof, and she still continues to throw out her allurements, he must be seduced at last, or fly. Now the Banyan is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him to-day, Gold to-morrow, Jewels the next day, and if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is Trade. He assures him that Goods may be had cheap, and sold to great advantage up the Country. In this manner is the attack carried on, and the Company's servant has no resource, for he cannot fly. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it. Let us for a moment consider the nature of the education of a young man who goes to INDIA. The advantages arising from the Company's service are now very generally known, and the great object of every man is to get his son appointed a writer to BENGAL, which is usually at the age of sixteen. His parents and relations represent to him how certain he is of making a fortune, that my Lord such a one, and my Lord such a one, acquired so much money in such a time, and Mr such a one, and Mr such a one, so much in such a time. Thus are their principles corrupted at their very setting out, and as they generally go a good many together, they inflame one another's expectations to such a degree, in the course of the voyage,

it they fix upon a period for their return, before their

LET us now take a view of one of these writers arrived
 BENGAL, and not worth a groat. As soon as he lands, a
 anyan, worth perhaps one hundred thousand pounds, desires
 : may have the honor of serving this young gentleman, at
 our shillings and six pence per month. The Company has
 rovided chambers for him, but they are not good enough,—
 he Banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about
 the town, he observes that other writers, arrived only a year
 before him, live in splendid apartments or have houses of
 their own, ride upon fine prancing Arabian Horses, and in
 balanqueens and Chaises, that they keep Seraglios, make
 Entertainments, and treat with Champagne and Claret. When
 he returns, he tells the Banyan what he has observed. The
 Banyan assures him he may soon arrive at the same good
 fortune, he furnishes him with money, he is, then, at his
 mercy. The advantages of the Banyan advance with the
 rank of his master, who in acquiring one fortune generally
 spends three. But this is not the worst of it, he is in a
 state of dependence under the Banyan, who commits such
 acts of violence and oppression, as his interest prompts him
 to, under the pretended sanction and authority of the Com-
 pany's servant. Hence, Sir, arises the clamor against the
 ENGLISH Gentlemen in INDIA. But look at them in a retired
 situation, when returned to ENGLAND, which they are no
 longer Nabobs and Sovereigns, of the East—see if there be
 any thing tyrannical in their disposition towards their infe-
 riors. see if they are not good and humane masters. Are
 they

they not charitable? Are they not benevolent? Are they not generous? Are they not hospitable? If they are, so far, not contemptible members of Society, and if in all the dealings between man and man, their conduct is strictly honorable; if, in short, there has not yet been one character found amongst them sufficiently flagitious for Mr. Foote to exhibit on the Theatre in the Haymarket, may we not conclude, that if they have erred, it has been because they were men, placed in situations subject to little or no controul?—

But if the servants of the Company are to be loaded with the demerit of every misfortune in INDIA, let them also have the merit they are intitled to. The Court of Directors surely will not claim to themselves the merit of those advantages which the Nation and the Company are at present in possession of. The Officers of the Navy and Army have had great share in the execution; but the Company's servants were the Cabinet Council, who planned every thing; and to them also may be ascribed some part of the merit of our great acquisitions.

I will now pass to other matter: matter as important as ever came before this House. INDIA yields at present a clear produce to the public and to individuals, of between two and three millions Sterling, *per Annum*. If this object should be lost, what can Administration substitute in the room of it? I tremble when I think of the risque we lately ran, from the ambitious designs of the FRENCH. They may have suspended for a time their views upon INDIA, but I am sure they

they have not given them up. It is strongly reported they have at this moment ten thousand men at the Islands, and a great number of Transports these men are not to return to FRANCE, and yet the Islands cannot maintain them but at MADAGASCAR they may possess themselves of a Country capable of supporting any number. This they certainly will do, and their forces instead of decreasing will increase by additional battalions, poured out from FRANCE, until they are ready to carry into execution their favourite design. The noble Lord at the Head of the Treasury will do me the justice to say that I laid before him a paper, drawn up fifteen months ago, in which I stated almost every thing that has since happened, relating to the views of FRANCE upon the EAST INDIES. It was indeed impossible for me to be deceived knowing the preparations that had been made.

If ever FRANCE should lay hold of our possessions, she will soon add to them all the rest of the EAST INDIES. The other EUROPEAN Nations there will immediately fall before her, not even the Dutch can stand, the Empire of the Sea will follow thus will her acquisitions in the East, if any can, give her universal Monarchy. I repeat, and I would have what I say remembered, that the FRENCH have not given up their designs upon INDIA.

But danger abroad being for the present suspended, let us think of the danger at home.

It is certain that our affairs in BENGAL are in a very deplorable condition, and that the Nation cannot receive their

four hundred thousand pounds, and the Proprietors their two hundred thousand pounds increase of dividend much longer, if something be not done.

It is necessary, since these affairs are brought before Parliament, that we should endeavour to understand them. There are a few material points, which I will state as clearly as I can. The Revenues; the Inland Trade; the Charges, Civil and Military: and the Public Trade, by which I mean the Trade of the Company.

Upon the receipt of the Revenues depend the four hundred thousand pounds a year to Government, and the two hundred thousand pounds a year additional dividend to the Proprietors: and upon the Company's or Public Trade depends the coming home of the Revenues. There are no mines of Gold or Silver in BENGAL, therefore the Revenue can be brought hither only through the medium of the Company's Trade.

Upon the Civil and Military Expences depends, whether we shall have any surplus Revenue at all: for if they are swelled up too high you can receive no Revenues. Upon the Inland Trade depends in some degree, the receipt of the Revenues. Upon the Inland Trade depend almost totally the happiness and prosperity of the People. Indeed the true cause of the distress in BENGAL, as far as it relates to the Inland Trade, is this. The Company's servants and their agents have taken into their own hands the whole of that Trade which they have carried on in a capacity before unknown

for they have traded not only as Merchants, but as Sovereigns, and by grasping at the whole of the Inland Trade, have taken the bread out of the mouths of thousands and thousands of Merchants, who used formerly to carry on that Trade, and who are now reduced to beggary.

With regard to the Public Trade, it is material to observe what that has been, and what it now is. Here is an account of the prime costs of the Company's Investments from BENGAL, for seven years preceding the acquisition of the DUANNEE, and for seven years subsequent, together with the number of Ships employed.

By this Paper, it appears that the Public Trade has increased more than double, since the Acquisition of the DUANNEE.

I now come to a very material point indeed. A State of the Revenues, and also of the Civil and Military, and all other Expences from the year 1765 to 1771. The first year's Account is imperfect, because the Revenues are stated from the month of April, and the DUANNEE was not obtained till August.

Amount of the REVENUES and CHARGES,

Shewing the Nett Receipts and the Nett Income for six Years, from May 1765 to April 1771

One Year	Gross Collections	Charges of collecting Tribute & Sundry	Nett Revenue	Civil Charges	Military Charges	Buildings and Fortifications	Total Amount of Charges Civil Milit and Buildings &c	Total Charges including Tribute, &c	Income
Y 1765 to April 1766,	£ 2,263,176 3	£ 611,890	£ 1,652,873	£ 211,398	£ 612,009	£ 87,223	£ 910,630	£ 1,522,520	£ 742
Y 1766 to April 1767,	3,861,141	1,273,755	2,587,386	307,484	861,174	105,544	1,274,202	2,547,957	1,313,
Y 1767 to April 1768,	3,613,171	1,255,673	2,357,498	303,231	868,177	219,285	1,390,693	2,646,366	966,
Y 1768 to April 1769,	3,786,795	1,296,739	2,490,056	412,250	1,022,393	270,873	1,715,516	3,012,255	774,
Y 1769 to April 1770,	3,430,210	1,209,366	2,220,844	391,906	1,044,631	193,353	1,629,890	2,839,256	590
Y 1770 to April 1771,	3,148,960	1,209,366	1,939,594				1,766,250	2,975,616	173
	20,105,040	6,856,789	13,248,251	1,636,269	4,408,384	876,278	8,687,181	15,543,970	4,561

THIS Account must be exact, because I had the whole of it from the INDIA House, except the particulars of the last year, which the Court of Directors are not yet in possession of. But I cannot doubt their authenticity, as I received them from a Gentleman in Council at BENGAL.

THE House will observe, that the Gross Collections have not decreased considerably till the year 1770, which was the year of the Famine; but that the Civil and Military Expences have been gradually increasing ever since I left BENGAL, which was in the beginning of the year 1767. And here lies the danger. The evil is not so much in the Revenues falling short, as in the Expences increasing. The best means of raising the Revenues is to reduce the Civil and Military Charges. Why should we strive at an actual increase of the Revenues? They avail nothing unless we can invest them; and to raise them beyond a certain point is to distress the country, and to reduce to indigence numbers who from time immemorial have derived their subsistence from them.

With regard to the increase of the expences, I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the DUANEE, their Agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel the channel of the Civil and Military Charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.

It is not the simple pay of Officers and Men upon the Military and Civil Establishment which occasions our enormous Expence, but the contingent Bills of Contractors, Commissaries, Engineers, &c. out of which, I am sure, great savings might be made. These intolerable expences have alarmed the Directors, and persuaded them to consult Parliament for assistance. And, if I mistake not, they will soon go to Administration, and tell them they cannot pay the four hundred thousand pounds; and that they must lower the Dividend to the Proprietors.

I attribute the present situation of our Affairs to four Causes: a Relaxation of Government, in my Successors; great Neglect on the part of Administration; notorious Misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous Proceedings of General Courts, in which I include contested Elections.

(Mr. VERELST) who succeeded me in the Government, I do believe to be a man of as much real worth and honour as ever existed: and so far from being wanting in humanity, as Mr. BOLTS asserts, I know that he had too much humanity. If it may be allowed the expression, has been his ruin. If he had had less, it would have been better for the nation, better for the Company, better for the Natives, and better for himself. No Man came to the Government with a fairer Character, and notwithstanding what I have said, I am conscious no man ever left it with a fairer. He acted upon principles of disinterestedness from beginning to end; and let

the Directors; if they can tell me where I could have laid my finger upon a fitter Man. But the truth is, he governed with too lenient a hand. The too great tenderness of his disposition I saw and dreaded. Nothing was wanting on my part to prompt him to pursue vigorous measures. Nor did I confine myself to verbal advice only. I gave it in writing before I resigned the Government. The House will permit me to read to them my sentiments upon that occasion. They are contained in my Farewell Letter to the Select Committee, wherein I forewarned them of almost every misfortune that has since happened. The whole is too long to trouble the House with: I shall therefore read only that part of it which relates to the present subject.

Extract from my Farewell Letter to the Select Committee, But not I don't dated 16th January, 1767.

"The reformation proposed by the Committee of Inspection will, I hope, be duly attended to. It has been too much the custom in this Government to make orders and regulations, and thence to suppose the business done. To what end and purpose are they made, if they be not promulgated and enforced? No regulation can be carried into execution, no order obeyed, if you do not make rigorous examples of the disobedient. Upon this point I rest the welfare of the Company. In Bengal and The servants are now brought to a proper sense of their duty; if you slacken the reins of Government, affairs will soon revert to their former channel; anarchy and corruption will again

"again prevail; and, elate with a new victory, be too head-
 "strong for any future efforts of Government. Recall to
 "your memories the many attempts that have been made
 "in the Civil and Military Departments, to overcome our au-
 "thority, and to set up a kind of independency against the
 "Court of Directors. Reflect also on the resolute measure
 "we have pursued, and their wholesome effects. Disobe-
 "dience to legal power is the first step of sedition; and pal-
 "liative remedies effect no cure. Every tender compliance,
 "every condescension on your parts will only encourage more
 "flagrant attacks; which will daily increase in strength, and
 "be at last in vain resisted. Much of our time has been
 "employed in correcting abuses. The important work has
 "been prosecuted with zeal, diligence and disinterestedness,
 "and we have had the happiness to see our labors crowned
 "with success. I leave the Country in peace; I leave the
 "Civil and Military Departments under discipline and sub-
 "ordination; it is incumbent upon You to keep them so.
 "You have power; you have abilities, you have integrity;—
 "let it not be said that you are deficient in resolution. I
 "repeat, that you must not fail to exact the most implicit
 "obedience to your orders. Dismiss, or suspend from the
 "service, any man who shall dare to dispute your authority.
 "If you deviate from the principles upon which we have
 "hitherto acted, and upon which you are conscious you
 "ought to proceed; or if you do not make a proper use of
 "that power, with which you are invested, I shall hold
 "myself acquitted, as I do now protest against the conse-
 "quences."

It is certain, that if my successor had followed my example and advice, the evil day would have been kept off some time longer. But had he kept the tightest rein, he could not have done much service to the Company for neither he nor any man could have long guarded against the mischiefs occasioned by the Directors themselves, when they took away the powers of the Select Committee.

THE Company had acquired an empire more extensive than any Kingdom in EUROPE, FRANCE and RUSSIA excepted. They had acquired a Revenue of four millions Sterling, and a Trade in proportion. It was natural to suppose that such an object would have merited the most serious attention of Administration, that in concert with the Court of Directors they would have considered the nature of the Company's Charter, and have adopted a Plan adequate to such possessions. Did they take it into consideration? No, they did not. They treated it rather as a South Sea Bubble, than as any thing solid and substantial. they thought of nothing but the present time, regardless of the future. they said, let us get what we can to day, let to morrow take care for itself. they thought of nothing but the immediate division of the loaves and fishes. nay, so anxious were they to lay their hands upon some immediate advantage, that they actually went so far as to influence a parcel of temporary Proprietors to bully the Directors into their terms. It was their duty, Sir, to have called upon the Directors for a Plan, and if a Plan,

in consequence, had not been laid before them, it would then have become their duty, with the aid and assistance of Parliament, to have formed one themselves. If Administration had done their duty, we should not now have heard a Speech from the Throne, intimating the necessity of parliamentary interposition, to save our possessions in INDIA from impending ruin.

THE next point is, the misconduct on the part of the Court of Directors.

AFTER the Court of Directors had, in the highest terms approved of the conduct of that Committee, who restored tranquillity to **BENGAL**, who had restored a Government of anarchy and confusion to good order, who had made a Peace with **SUJA DOWLA**, by which they obtained upwards of six hundred thousand pounds for the Company, who had quelled both a Civil and a Military Mutiny, who had re-established Discipline and Subordination in the Army, who had obtained the **DUANNIE** of **BENGAL**, **BAHAR**, and **ORISSA**, which produced to the Company a nett income of one million three hundred thousand pounds, who had paid off the greatest part of a Bond Debt in **BENGAL**, amounting to near nine hundred thousand pounds, who had left the Treasury in such a flowing state, that they drew few or no bills upon the Company at home, who laid the foundations of Investments so large as were never before known or heard of, and who had by these means enabled the Company to assist

I II

Government.

Government with four hundred thousand pounds a year, and make an increase of Dividend to the Stock-holders of two hundred thousand pounds; one would imagine that the Court Directors would have supported a system of Government which had been so very successful. But they acted upon very different principles; they dropped the prosecutions against those Gentlemen in BENGAL, whose conduct the Committee had censured, and fully represented. Thus they gave a stab to their own vitals. From that instant they destroyed their own power abroad, and erased from the minds of their servants in INDIA, every wholesome regulation which the Committee had established. The servants abroad were in anxious suspense to learn whether they were punishable or not, for misconduct. The lenity or weakness of the Court of Directors removed their doubts. From that instant all Covenants were forgotten, or only looked upon as so many sheets of blank paper; and from that instant began that relaxation of Government so much now complained of, and so much still to be dreaded.

THEIR next step was to destroy the Powers of that Committee whose conduct they had with reason so highly approved of. They divided the Powers; they gave half to the Council, and left the other half with the Committee. The consequence was, the Council and Committee became distracted by altercations and disputes for Power, and have ever since been at variance, to the great detriment of the service. The Court of Directors, as if this was not enough, reflected on

the service almost every Civil and Military Transgressor who had been dismissed: nay they rewarded some of them, by allowing them a continuation of their rank all the time they were in ENGLAND. And now, as a condemnation of their own conduct, and a tacit confession of their own weakness, they come to Parliament with a Bill of Regulations, in which is inserted a Clause to put such Practices, as much as possible, out of their Power for the future.

With regard to General Courts, I believe I need not dwell long on the Consequences of them. Their violent Proceedings have been subversive of the Authority of the Court of Directors. The Agents abroad have known this: they have therefore never scrupled to sit the orders of the Court of Directors at defiance, when it was their interest to disobey them, and they have escaped punishment, by means of the overawing interest of individuals at General Courts. Thus have General Courts co-operated with the Court of Directors in the mischiefs that have arisen in BENGAL, whilst annual contested Elections have, in a manner, deprived the Directors of the power of establishing any authority over their servants. The first half of the year is employed in freeing themselves from the obligations contracted by their last Election, and the second half is wasted in incurring new obligations, and securing their Election for the next year, by daily sacrifices of some interest of the Company. The Direction, notwithstanding all these manœuvres, has been so fluctuating and unsettled, that new and contradictory orders have

have been frequently sent out, and the servants (who to say
 truth have generally understood the interest of the Com-
 pany much better than the Directors) have in many instances
 showed their own opinion, in opposition to theirs. It is
 not my intention, at present, to trouble the House
 with the Remedies for these evils. I rather chuse to defer
 them till the Bill comes into the House. I have now opened
 my Budget it is not a ministerial Budget it is an EAST
 INDIA Budget, which contains many precious Stones, Dia-
 monds, Rubies, &c of the first Water and Magnitude, and
 here wants only a skilful Jeweller, and able Artist, to polish,
 and ascertain their real Value.